California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

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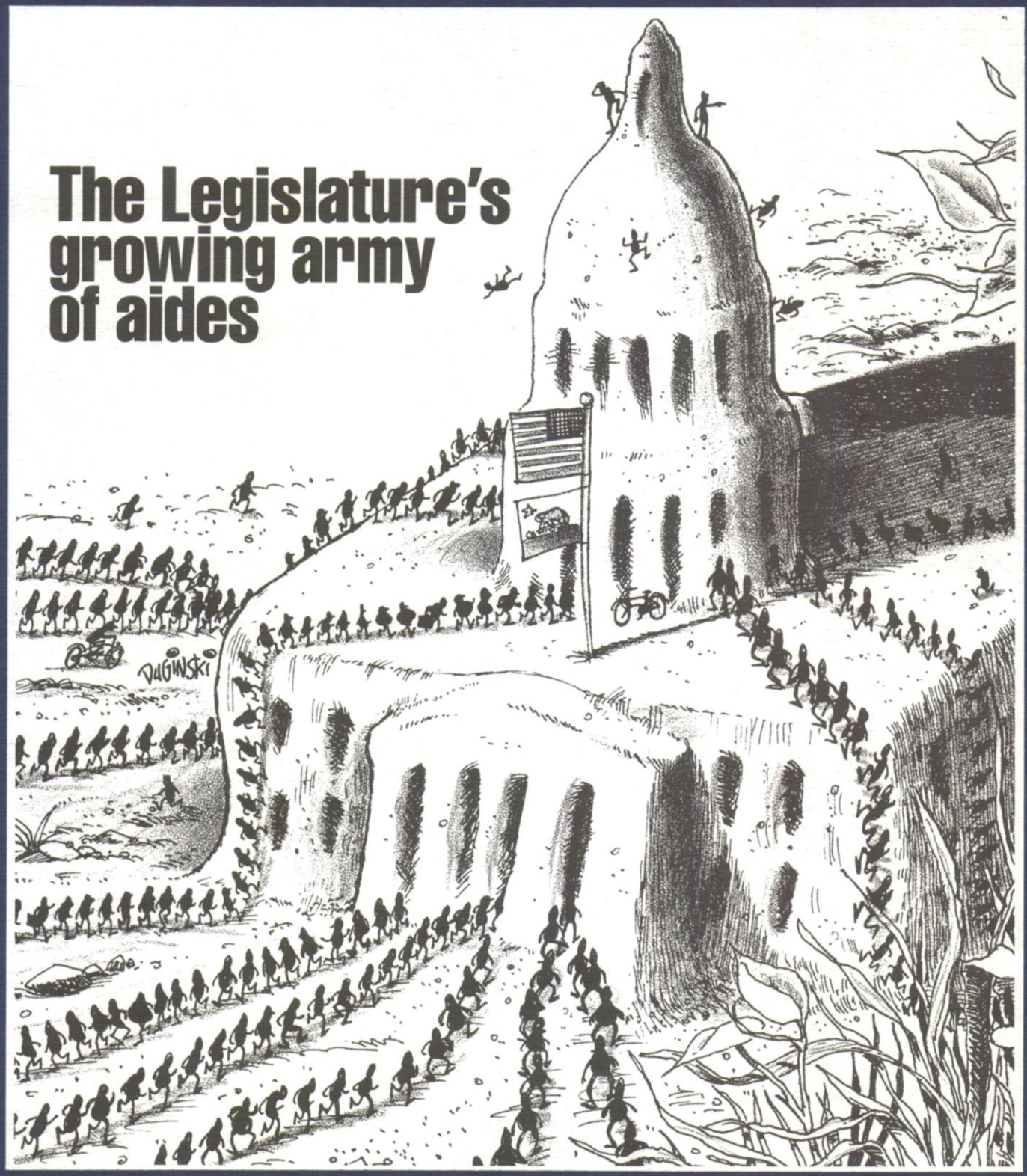

Political who's who for Silicon Valley

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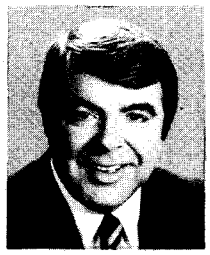

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California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

Volume XIV, Number 6 **June 1983**

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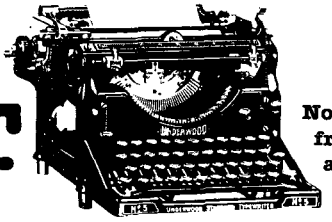
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Back in 1970, when this magazine was still a gleam in the eyes of several youngish, would-be publishers, Tony Beard Sr., the Assembly sergeant at arms, told them they could do it and predicted that their publication would be a success. Two months before the first issue was to be printed, he asked

how much a subscription would cost. When told that it would be $10, he reached in his wallet, pulled out two fives and became our first subscriber. Framed, those bills hung on the *Journal* wall for a long time, despite temptations generated by some very lean periods. They would be there still but for a burglary a few years back. So Tony Beard was always a special person for the *Journal*, and with his passing (he died April 25th at age 72) we feel a special sense of loss. We know that Tony Beard Jr., the Senate sergeant at arms, is strictly his own man. But we're glad the family name is still at the Capitol.

Although most people don't know an acre foot from a miner's inch, those who deal with water may have wondered about the reference in last month's Mono Lake article to Los Angeles diverting "about 10,000 acre feet annually" from the Mono Basin. That was a typo; it should have said 100,000 acre feet. If Los Angeles were taking only 10,000 acre feet of water, the lake's problems would be much easier to solve.

Democratic Senator Bob Presley of Riverside, the author of much legislation to build new prisons, was at the infamous Stringfellow acid pits recently as part of an official group trying to estimate how much a cleanup will cost. "This would be an ideal site for a prison," Presley declared. For those who think that's a great idea: He said it with a smile.

(Dan Bernstein, Riverside)

Cassette campaigning is the latest novelty to bubble up out of the political wars in Santa Monica. Instead of sending out potholders or bumper stickers, the All Santa Monica Coalition mailed a cassette tape to 21,000 voters just before an April 12th municipal election. The message on that tape is credited with helping to unseat Mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway and to defeat two city council candidates backed by Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED).

The seven-minute tape, narrated by a former president of the California

League of Women Voters, features excerpts from speeches by Goldway and her husband (and former campaign manager), Derek Shearer, before a 1981 conference of political strategists. Voters were able to hear Shearer tell how Goldway's successful 1979 mayoral campaign paid lip-service to crime prevention by copying a pamphlet prepared by local police, then distributing it as Goldway's "anti-crime guide." They also heard Shearer explain how he used copies of a newspaper article about the eviction of "a senior citizen dying of cancer" to manipulate pro-rent control sentiments.

The mailing took two days of round-the-clock work by 50 volunteers who hand-stamped every envelope. The total cost of $15,000, or about 71 cents per tape, is nearly double the cost for more traditional campaign giveaways.

(Rick Cziment, Venice)

Maureen Higgins' boss, Governor George Deukmejian, introduced his new deputy legislative secretary in no uncertain terms to a recent reception sponsored by the California Women's Alliance. "Her job is to keep all the legislators happy," the Guv announced, a job description which caused the attractive, 20ish Higgins to

turn bright red, then join other guests in a chuckle over the governor's innocent gaffe.

"I didn't mean it that way," Deukmejian responded.

California's private utilities have just been told to start charging their customers for an aspect of nuclear power that few people have thought about: disposing of used-up reactors. The things are dangerously radioactive and no one is exactly sure what to do with them. But the Public Utilities Commission wants money on hand for when the need arises, and in early

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April ordered Pacific Gas and Electric, San Diego Gas and Electric and Southern California Edison to begin collecting from their customers. (SMUD, Sacramento's publicly owned utility, began collecting in 1981.) The amount per customer will be relatively small, at least at first — perhaps 10 cents a month. The big fight was over what to do with the funds. The utilities wanted to merge the income with their normal cash flow. But the PUC said no, ordering that the money be invested outside the utilities so that it would be there when needed.

(J.A. Savage, Bayside)

The attorney general's office is into zoology again, this time ruling that the anaconda, the world's largest snake, is but a distant cousin to the python. The seven-page opinion, with references to Goin, Goin and Zug's *Introduction to Herpetology,* is important (to somebody) because state law prohibits importing purses, belts, shoes or other items made from python skin. Thanks to this opinion, anacondas remain unprotected and had better watch out. In 1980, the AG leaped to the aid of the Department of Fish and Game, which has authority to protect endangered fish but wanted to help some butterflies as well. Easy, said the AG's office as it upheld the Fish and Game regulation — insects are a form of fish. The Office of Administrative Law killed the regulation nonetheless.

(Alan Ashby, Sacramento)

Senate President pro Tem David Roberti certainly knows the value of good media relations. After press secretary Mel Assagai's recent promotion to chief assistant, the senator hired not one but two media aides. Bud Lembke, a free-lance writer from Berkeley, was brought on board just to deal with newspapers while Bill Rukeyser, a newswriter from KRON-TV in San Francisco, will handle relations with the electronic media.

Which leaves us waiting for the addition of a third aide — the one for monthly magazines.

David P. Gardner, the new man in charge of UC, visited legislative leaders recently at the Capitol and apparently heard very little about his salary. Back in March, when UC Regents announced that Gardner would succeed David Saxon as president and would be paid $150,000 a year, there was some grumping in the Legislature. But UC lobbyist Steve Arditti, who introduced Gardner about, says only one or two persons mentioned the pay and it was only "in jest." Just keep 'em laughing, Steve.

Braun & Company of Los Angeles, the public relations and campaign consulting firm, is under new management, sort of. Founder and majority stockholder Ted Braun died in March, at age 82, and left his shares to his employees. President Larry Fisher says Braun told his top officers before his death that he didn't want the company sold to a big ad agency. According to Fisher, Braun founded the firm in 1930 to campaign against a new state law aimed at stifling the growth of chain groceries. Since his client then was Safeway, he must have done the job well.

Republican state Senator Bill Richardson of Arcadia launched his long-planned *Gun Owner* magazine last month. A slick-paper, readable bimonthly, it covers hunting as well as the personalities and politics of the gun lobby. Richardson is hoping for 100,000 circulation within a year. The inaugural issue contained, among other things, a personality piece on actor Charlton Heston who helped defeat the gun control measure, Proposition 15, last year, and an article entitled "High Desert Bunny Blasting" that described the joys and techniques of rabbit hunting. On the other side, Senate President pro Tem David Roberti was sending forth an 80,000-piece mailer to solicit funds for his political action committee, ROAR (Respect Our Animals' Rights). Roberti's effort is aimed largely at pet owners, but he would surely take money from high-desert bunny lovers as well.

Because they have to run for office every two years, members of the Assembly always seem a bit more insecure, even nervous, than the brethren of the Senate, who get four years between elections. This may help explain why 13 lower house members are doing without state-leased private automobiles this year while nary a senator has refused the privilege. Some of the 13, like Democrat Art Agnos of San Francisco, take cars from the state's motor pool. But that is definitely plebeian transportation.

According to the Assembly Rules Committee, these are the other 12 who abstain: Republican Charles Bader of Ontario, Republican Dennis

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Brown of Long Beach, Democrat Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, Republican John Lewis of Orange, Democrat Jack O'Connell of Santa Barbara, Republican Phil Wyman of Bakersfield, Republican Bob Naylor of San Carlos, Democrat Sam Farr of Monterey, Republican Don Rogers of Bakersfield, Republican Larry Stirling of La Mesa, Republican Cathie Wright of Simi Valley and Democrat Willie Brown of San Francisco. The Senate Rules Committee says that Republican Edward Royce of Garden Grove has not ordered his leased car yet but is expected to.

The California Railroad Association has suddenly become concerned about the fairness of highway taxes. Specifically, it wants to assure that those who do the most damage to highways pay a proportionate share of maintenance costs. And who might that be? Son-of-a-gun if it isn't those big heavy trucks, which also happen to compete with railroads. The association, armed with statistics, has set aside $247,000 to lobby for a new weight-distance tax.

It's hard to imagine that there once was a time when being Assembly speaker didn't count for much around the Capitol. In fact, says Professor Sherry Jeffe of USC, Assembly speakers didn't even have an office to call their own until Speaker Paul Peek created one in 1939 by taking space from the Assembly Post Office and a part of the Ladies' Room. Jeffe knows about such things because she's writing a book on the speakership. Her adviser is Treasurer Jess Unruh, the former speaker who did more than anyone to assure that obscurity would never plague the speakership again.

Fifteen years ago on June 4th, Bobby Kennedy was shot to death. Among those who've thought much about the event is Jess Unruh, a Kennedy campaign manager and witness to the assassination. What if Kennedy hadn't died? He would have beaten Richard Nixon in 1968, Unruh says, and everything after would have changed. For himself, Unruh continues, Kennedy's death so unnerved him that he lost the Democratic majority in the Assembly that year and with it his job as speaker. As a result, he lost the opportunity to raise the money he needed to defeat Ronald Reagan's bid for a second term as governor in 1970. As governor, Unruh would have changed the tax laws to eliminate the state's "obscene" budget surplus. Consequently, there would not have been a tax revolt in 1978, no Proposition 13 "babies" in the Legislature and someone else in the White House today.

Charley Roberts, Sacramento

Jim Carroll, a genial reporter at the state Capitol, is moving to Washington, D.C., and hopes that his new job there will last a bit longer than the last. In March 1982, Carroll was hired as Washington bureau chief for the *Toledo Blade*. But after he'd quit his state Capitol job with the *Orange County Register* and rented an apartment in Washington, he was told that the deal was off. It seemed that the *Blade's* publisher, who had personally hired Carroll, liked going to annual Gridiron Club dinners. Thus, the publisher decided to install a club member instead of Carroll so that he would continue to receive invitations. The *Register* rehired Carroll and maybe they'd take him again. Meanwhile, he'll be covering Congress and environs for the *Long Beach Press-Telegram* and Knight-Ridder Newspapers.

Former Senate President pro Tem James Mills has finished his book about the Legislature and his agent is seeking a publisher. Mills says his book is generous with details about the carousing that occurred during his years at the Capitol. One of his proposed titles is "A Disorderly House." The other is "Under the Golden Dome," the title of a series about legislative benefits and boondoggles that ran a few years ago in the *Sacramento Union*.

Everybody knows that George Deukmejian wants his judicial appointees to be more law-and-orderish than those named by Jerry Brown. But did you know that he wants them to be healthier as well? The governor's office is giving judicial applicants the same questionnaires to fill out as were used by Brown, except for four additional questions: Who's your doctor? Are you under treatment now? Most recent physical? The governor also wants to know if an applicant is now or ever has been an alcoholic or junkie. "If so," says the questionnaire, "give details."

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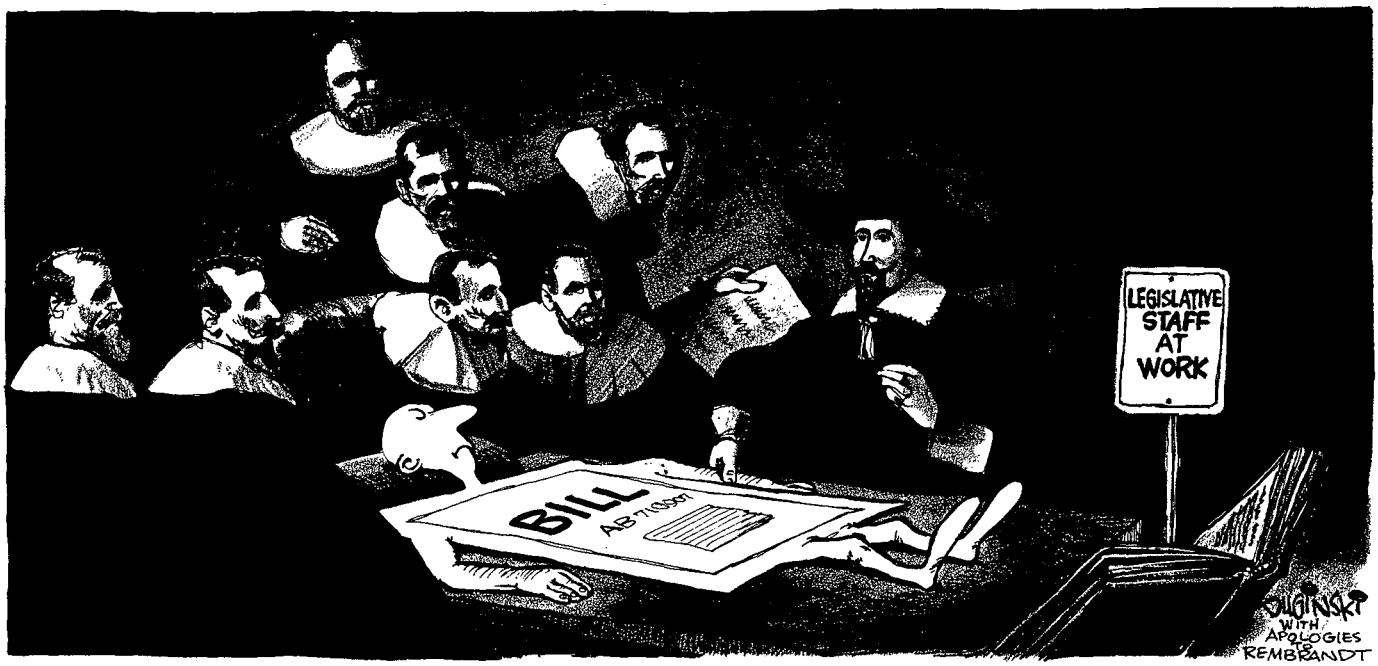
The Legislature's staff — No. 1 growth industry in the Capitol



By A.G. BLOCK and ROBERT S. FAIRBANKS

Back in 1955, when Jess Unruh was a freshman member of the state Assembly, he wanted to understand every bill that came before him for a vote. But too often the explanations he heard from bill authors were based on information from lobbyists who were supporting the bills. The bills themselves were of little help: paragraphs of legalese, making changes in obscure statutes. Who would benefit or be hurt by the change? What really was going on?

At that time, the Legislature had a small professional staff — the office of Legislative Counsel to draft bills, the office of Legislative Analyst to gauge their impact on state finances, a handful of committee consultants — and that was about it. Unable to get the detailed information he wanted, Unruh recalls, he became a pain in the neck to his colleagues as he stood on the Assembly floor in total frustration, challenging about half the bills that came along.

Thus, in 1961, when Unruh began his eight-year career as Assembly speaker, his major objective was already formed: to build a staff of professionals who would examine bills and issues, describe what's happening and recommend solutions. And, of course, he was successful. The staff was created, making Unruh — in the words of one recent author — "the father of the modern California Legislature."

Today's lawmakers feel exactly as Unruh did nearly 30 years ago. "Without staff's independent analysis of issues, we'd be in deep trouble," says Senator John Garamendi of Stockton, the Democratic floor leader. "Our business is to sort out the political, economic and social effects of our decisions. It takes staff to define and identify the impacts (of those decisions)."

But how much staff, and how much should it cost? During recent months, critics have contended that the legislative staff has become far too big and costly. And now, with an embryonic initiative drawing new attention to the issue (see following story), the pros and cons will be heard more loudly than before. What follows, then, is a look at the staff and some observations about it.

Big and getting bigger

To begin, no one seems to know exactly how much the staff has grown since Unruh began his expansion in 1961. Officials at both the Senate and Assembly Rules Committees, which handle housekeeping chores, say detailed records are incomplete prior to 1978.

However, the annual Legislative Handbook (published by the Legislature) printed the names of many staff aides in those days and suggests a total work force then of between 500 and 600. According to payroll sheets from the controller's office, the current staff numbers nearly 2,200, a minimum increase of about 370 percent.

Concerning costs, the best indicator of long-term growth is the Legislature's spending on itself, the bulk of which covers the care and feeding of staff. As can be seen in Chart One, legislative budgets over the years have been rising much more rapidly in percentage terms than state spending overall. In other words, the Legislature has taken an increasingly larger share of state spending for itself. (The bottom line on the chart combines annual percentage in-

A.G. Block is a free-lance writer in Sacramento. Robert S. Fairbanks is editor of the Journal.

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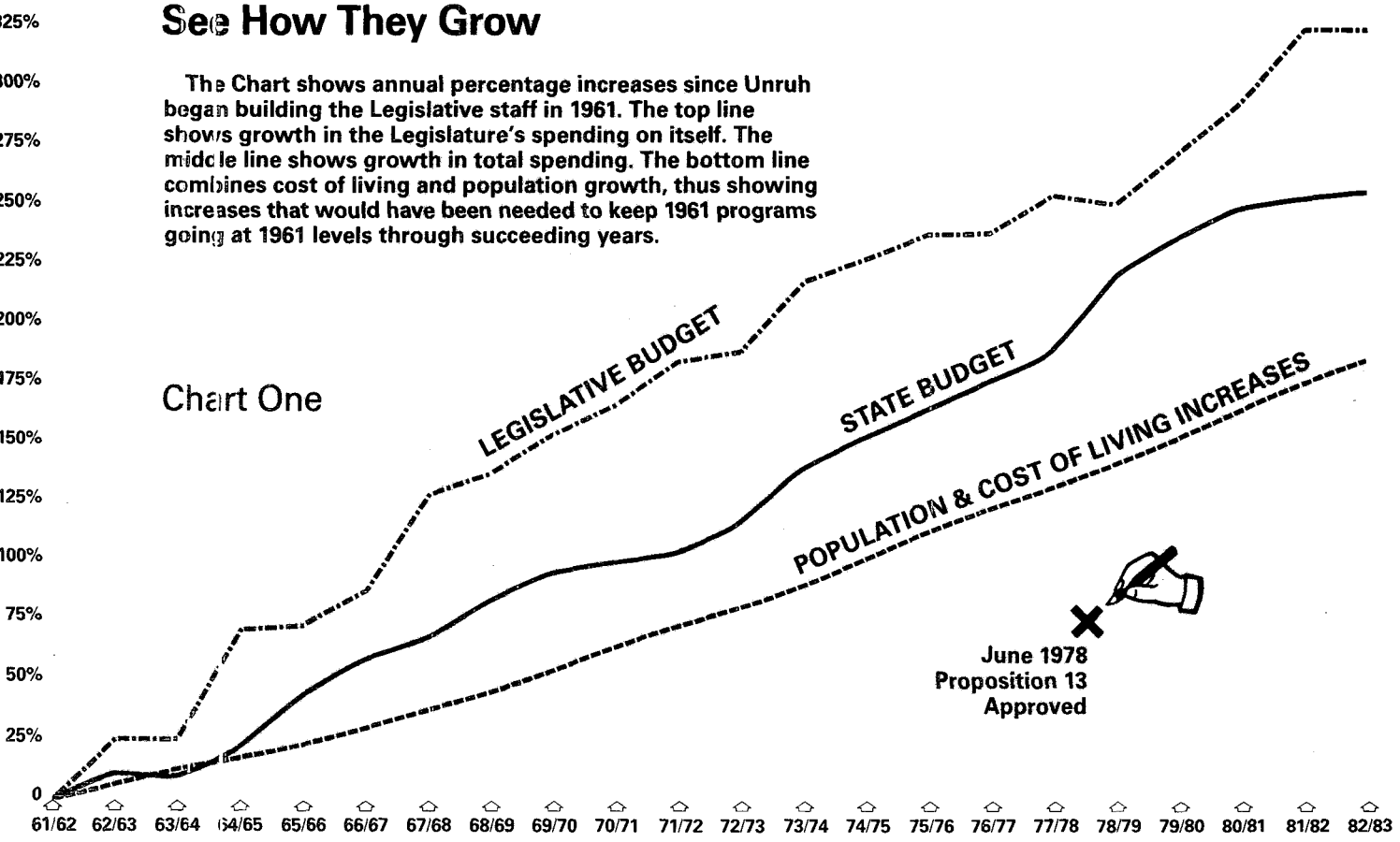
See How They Grow

The Chart shows annual percentage increases since Unruh began building the Legislative staff in 1961. The top line shows growth in the Legislature's spending on itself. The middle line shows growth in total spending. The bottom line combines cost of living and population growth, thus showing increases that would have been needed to keep 1961 programs going at 1961 levels through succeeding years.



creases in population and cost of living. This is the percentage that state government spending would have had to increase simply to stay even with 1961.)

Lest there be any doubt about the scope of the legislative increase, it's worth noting that the $32 million projected cost of the Assembly staff for the coming fiscal year is, alone, six times the cost of the entire Legislature in 1961.

Much of the rapid increase has occurred during relatively recent years. For instance, the legislative budget has doubled since 1979, a rate three times the increase in overall state spending. This occurred despite the 1978 passage of Proposition 13, the tax-cutting measure that forced severe cuts on most other government programs.

Why the recent increase? Much of it results from the leadership struggles that began in 1979 when Assemblyman Howard Berman (now in Congress) challenged Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy for the leadership job. McCarthy responded in part by rewarding supporters with additional staff. Later, after Berman and McCarthy fought to a standstill, Assemblyman Willie Brown won the speakership with help from Republican votes. In return, he granted (among other things) a sizeable increase in Assembly GOP staff. Wishing also to unify Democrats behind him, Brown increased staff for Democrats as well. On the Senate side, Democrat David Roberti unseated President pro Tem James Mills in part with promises to build a more effective staff. The results of all this are shown in Chart Two.

In any case, and regardless of any short-term reversals, legislative staffing has proven itself to be a growth industry over the years. However, as the staff has grown, it has undergone a change. Unruh calls it a "flattening." In his day, the staff was seen largely as a centralized corps of experts on various subjects (taxes, education, transportation, etc.) who would analyze bills, prepare reports and provide lawmakers with additional information upon request. Today, the staff may be larger, but it is less centralized; more of it is assigned to individual members to satisfy their more personal needs.

Indeed, according to a 1979 study funded by the National Science Foundation, the Legislature had too few staffers who were expert in such complex issues as health-care financing, toxic-waste disposal, retirement funding and nuclear energy.

To provide more staff to individual lawmakers, legislative leaders often use the "select committee" device. These are small panels created at the request of a particular leg-

SPEAKERS OF THE ASSEMBLY

Jesse Unruh	September, 1961-January, 1969
Robert Monagan	January, 1969-January, 1971
Robert Moretti	January, 1971-June, 1974
Leo McCarthy	June, 1974-December, 1980
Willie Brown	December, 1980

PRESIDENTS PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE

Hugh Burns	January, 1957-May, 1969
Howard Way	May, 1969-February, 1970
Jack Schrade	February, 1970-December, 1970
James Mills	January, 1971-December, 1980
David Roberti	December, 1980

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Gann's newest target: the Legislature

By BUD LEMBKE

At the moment, the biggest threat to the size and influence of the legislative staff lies in a proposed ballot initiative being promoted by Assembly Republicans and political activist Paul Gann. A key provision is designed to chop the Legislature's own budget by 30 percent, an action that would force a major reduction in staff.

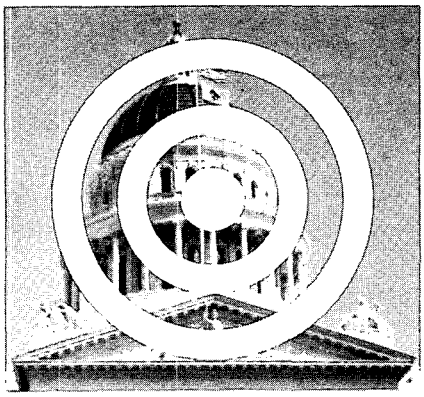
However, the measure — to be known as the "Legislative Reform Act" — does quite a bit more. Of most importance, it attempts to prevent the majority party from riding roughshod over the minority when it comes to doling out staff, committee assignments and other such plums. For months now, Assembly Republicans have been contending that Assembly Democrats have been treating them in this unkind manner. More than anything else, they complain of being stripped of all their committee vice chairmanships but one.

Democrats have responded not so much by denying roughshod tactics as by arguing against the GOP device for protecting minority rights. Essentially, the proposed measure would require a two-thirds vote in the Rules Committee of each house to apportion legislative funds (and perform some other functions). However, under the plan, neither party could achieve a two-thirds majority by itself. Thus, the majority always would need minority support for its key proposals.

If no agreements could be reached, then money for legislative operations would be apportioned to the parties according to their relative strengths in each house. As a result, the respected, non-partisan offices of the Legislative Analyst and Legislative Counsel would become dependent on partisan funds.

Democrats, arguing that the proposal would allow a minority of the minority party to block various Rules Committee actions, contend that its passage could prevent majority rule and lead to dominance by splinter groups. And they have some heavy hitters on their side. Robert Monagan, who was the Republican speaker of the Assembly in 1969 and 1970 and is now president of the California Manufacturers' Association, is heading the opposition. Called "Citizens Against Legislative Anarchy," the group has retained Whitaker-Baxter of San Francisco to organize the fight.

Gann, 70, will head the support campaign, his third initiative effort since he co-authored Proposition 13 in 1978. Since then, he has won passage of ballot measures to limit state spending and tighten criminal laws.



The proposed measure would be an initiative statute which needs 393,835 registered voter signatures to qualify for the ballot. Opponents contend (and supporters deny) that the measure should be a constitutional amendment, which would require more than 500,000 qualifying signatures. Specifically, the measure would:

- **Reduce the money** appropriated in the 1983-84 budget for support of the Legislature by 30 percent.
- **Freeze the budget** thereafter at this amount, plus or minus the percentage increase or decrease in the state general fund spending for that fiscal year. Gann said the 30 percent cut would bring the budget for both houses down to where it would be if only increases equal to inflation had been in effect since Proposition 13 passed in 1978.
- **Reduce the Assembly** Rules Committee from the present nine members to seven, including the speaker and three each from the two largest parties. Thus the current Democratic majority — which would have four committee votes under the Gann plan — would need a Republican member to approve expenditures. If this were lacking, the funds would be allocated "proportionately by party." Under the current 48-32 count, that would mean about 60 percent for Democrats and 40 percent for Republicans. Neither the chairman nor any other Rules Committee member could take action (such as making contracts, paying claims, or hiring or firing) without authorization by two-thirds of the committee.
- **Require that** the chairman and vice chairman of all other Assembly committees be from different parties and require that committee seats be apportioned according to each party's relative strength. Currently, the speaker assigns committee seats. The same two-thirds vote of Rules Committee members would be required to confirm the speaker's appointments to boards and commissions.
- **Leave the Senate** Rules Committee with the same number of members as at present, five — three from the majority party and two from the next largest. The same two-thirds vote would be required for expenditures as with Assembly Rules, unless the spending is proportionate to the party ratio in the Senate.
- **Require that rules** for proceedings in either house be adopted by a two-thirds vote and changed or suspended only by a two-thirds vote.
- **Force joint committees** to operate under the same two-thirds or proportionate-spending rules as would the two Rules Committees.
- **Prohibit "ghost voting"** (for an absent member) or any committee action taken without a quorum. Vote switching (for the benefit of home consumption) after a bill has been passed or defeated also would be prohibited. For exceptions in the case of mistakes, the ban on switching could be lifted by a four-fifths vote of the house.
- **Require conference** committees to meet in public. No report of such a committee could be adopted by either house until it had been printed and made available to the public for a minimum of two days. Exceptions could be made by a two-thirds vote of both houses. Violation of the open-meeting provision would be a misdemeanor. Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson (of Fullerton), one of the prime movers of the initiative, maintains that some of the "greatest abuses" of the present system are the major changes made in bills in unpublicized conference committee meetings at the end of a session.

Bud Lembke, a free-lance writer in Berkeley when producing this article, has been appointed press secretary to Senate President pro Tem David Roberti.

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islator to deal with some narrow issue of special interest to him or her. The legislator is named chairman and empowered to hire staff. He or she may then go forth, conduct public hearings and perhaps produce a bill. Naturally, the exposure does him or her no harm.

For instance, Democratic Senator Paul Carpenter of Cypress (in Orange County) already had a seven-person staff, four in Sacramento and three in his district office.

But in 1981, Carpenter determined that he needed more. Orange County, he said, was not getting its fair share of transportation revenues and something should be done. Thus, he had himself named chairman of the Senate Select Committee or Southern California Transportation Problems and has hired a committee consultant at $27,720 a year.

Meanwhile, the Senate's Standing Committee on Transportation, which hears all transportation bills, goes on as before. It employs two consultants at a total cost of $87,228 a year. There is also a transportation expert in the Senate Office of Research at about $46,000 a year.

Legislative leaders are also enlarging their personal staffs. Although the Senate Finance Committee has a professional staff of 10, and the office of Legislative Analyst employs 65 professionals, Senate President pro Tem David Roberti has added two fiscal experts to his staff. Aides to Roberti explain that he needs the two to help represent him in budget and fiscal negotiations with the governor's office, Senate Republicans and the Assembly. For much the same reasons, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown added an education expert to his staff earlier this year.

Much of the legislative staff is supposed to be non-partisan, serving all members with equal diligence, whether they be Democrats or Republicans. This is especially true for clerical employees, messengers and other support personnel. Secretaries are supposed to type as well for liberals as they do for conservatives.

The situation is less clear among the professionals; that is, the attorneys, analysts, committee consultants and others whose judgments may affect the fate of a bill. Those who work in the office of the Legislative Analyst, Legislative Counsel and Auditor General tend to be scrupulously non-partisan, often loading their reports and opinions with so many facts, figures and legal citations on both sides of an issue that only a zealot would read beyond the first page.

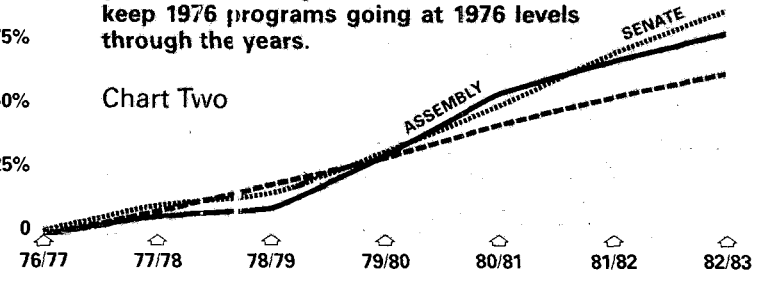
But the professional staff also includes the consultants and others who work for the Republican and Democratic organizations (known as "caucuses") in each house. These staffers are dedicated to helping their employers get reelected every two or four years. Thus, they write speeches and newsletters, analyze bills and issues, help prepare partisan strategies and — during election years — often take leaves of absence to work in their employers' political campaigns. In effect, they are campaign organizations financed by the state.

In the Assembly, the Democratic organization is the recently well-publicized "Speaker's Office of Majority Services." It has a staff of 21 and is headed by Richard Ross. However, Ross no longer works directly for the Assembly at a salary of about $62,000 a year. Last December he received a $132,000-a-year contract from the lower house to continue running the majority services office and — as a private entrepreneur — supply additional services as well. According to Ross, the new arrangement — which allows him to take additional political clients — gives taxpayers

Staff Growth

The chart shows the annual percentage increases in spending for legislative staff since 1976 when staff salaries and benefits were first shown as separate items in the governor's budget. The hyphenated line combines cost of living and population growth, showing increases needed to keep 1976 programs going at 1976 levels through the years.

Chart Two



Who gets most

Below is a list of the Legislature's top-salaried employees. Based on information supplied by the controller's office, the list does not include contractees like John Mockler and Richard Ross whose contract payments would qualify them at or near the top.

EMPLOYEE	JOB	SALARY
Cliff Berg	Executive Officer, Senate	$65,700
William Hamm	Legislative Analyst	63,624
Thomas Hayes	Auditor General	63,624
Kurt Sjoberg	Chief Deputy Auditor General	61,188
John Vickerman	Chief Deputy Legislative Analyst	61,152
Elisabeth Kersten	Director, Senate Research	60,828
Bruce Samuel	Special Assistant, Senate Rules	60,828
Steve Thompson	Chief of Staff, Assembly Speaker	60,828
Mary Noble	Assistant Auditor General	58,272
Wes Voss	Assistant Auditor General	58,272
James Driscoll	Chief Clerk, Assembly	57,888
Darryl White	Secretary, Senate	57,888
Fred Silva	Special Assistant, Senate Rules	55,608
Ken Carter	Deputy Legislative Analyst	55,584
Tom Dooley	Deputy Legislative Analyst	55,584
Thomas Dey	Chief Assembly Minority Consultant	55,080
David Doerr	Consultant, Assembly Revenue & Taxation	55,080
Paul Press	Consultant, Assembly Health	55,080
Rich Thomson	Consultant, Assembly Judiciary	55,080
Jack Watson	Consultant, Senate Finance	55,080

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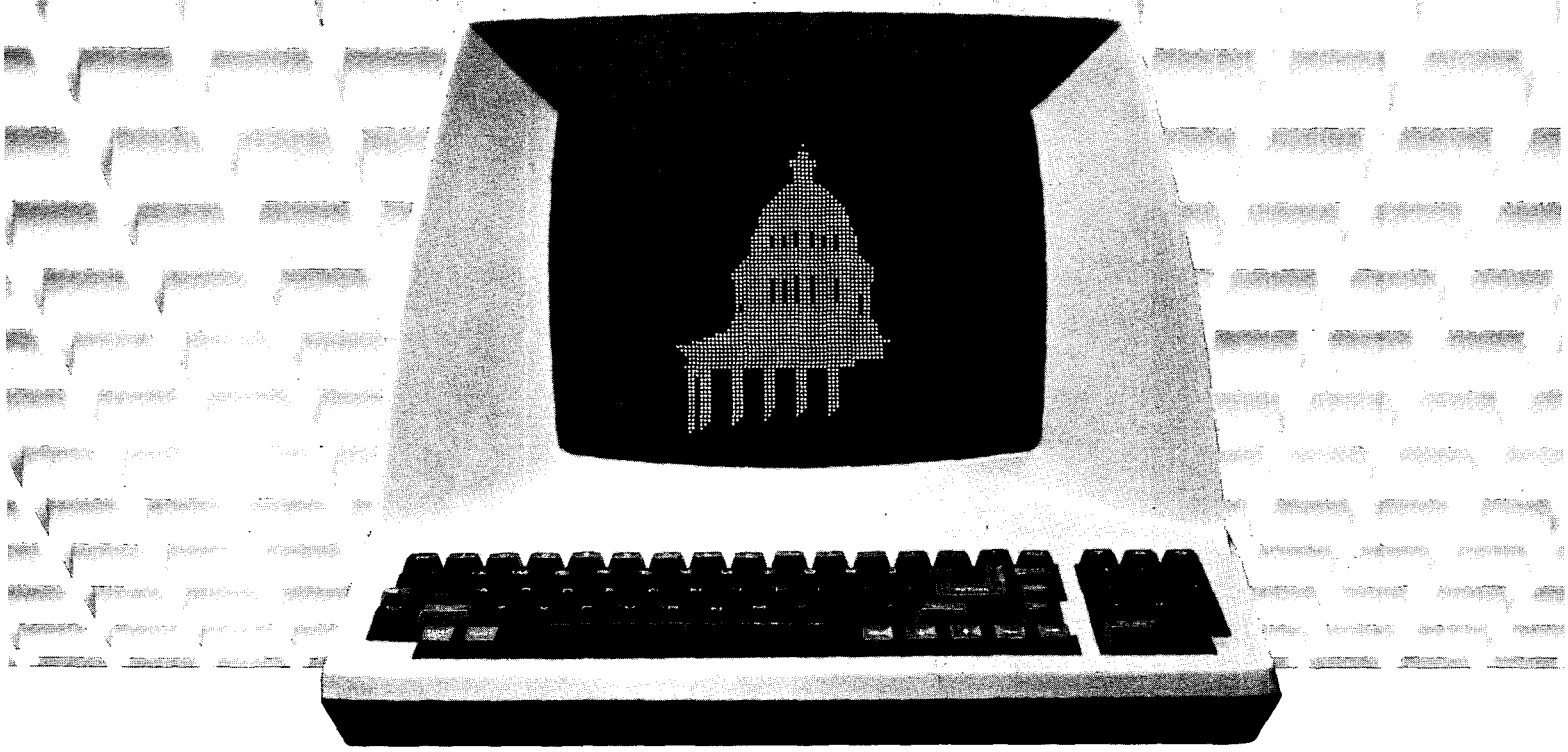

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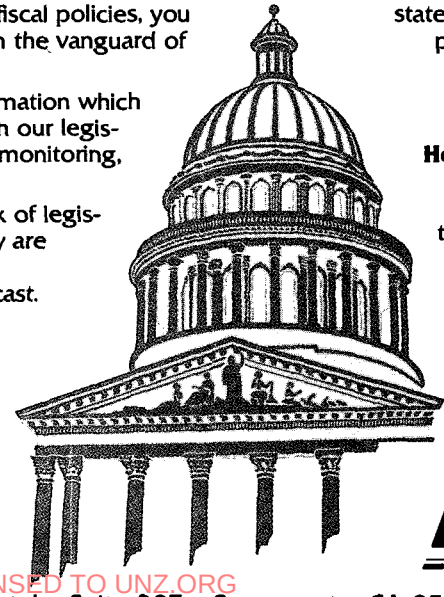

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a savings of approximately $16,000 a month.

When the contract began receiving widespread publicity in April, Republicans threatened a lawsuit and Democrats later modified the contract slightly, taking about half the money from Ross and giving it directly to four employees of his new, independent business. Thus, the revision makes clear that Ross is not pocketing all the money himself.

Between the open partisanship of the Legislature's political staff and the determined non-partisanship of those like the Legislative Analyst lies the crew of professionals who staff the Legislature's many committees. In theory, committee consultants and aides are non-partisan, working for committee members of both parties. But in practice, they are hired and fired by committee chairmen, though often with the advice and consent of legislative leaders. As a result, the quality and impartiality of committee staff is largely a function of the quality and impartiality of the chairman.

Generally speaking, the committee staffs are doing most of the work that Unruh deemed so important nearly 30 years ago: the detailed examination of bills and amendments. And there is a lot of it. For instance, when a bill is introduced in the Assembly, the Rules Committee staff gives it a preliminary examination to see what it is supposed to do. Using the staff analysis, committee members then send the bill to the proper standing committee for a full-blown public hearing. At that point, the standing committee staff prepares its own detailed report on the measure.

If the measure is successful but involves state money in any way (and the biggest bulk of them do) it moves from the first hearing to the Ways and Means Committee for another public airing. Beforehand, it is examined twice more, by the Ways and Means staff and the Legislative Analyst. (The State Department of Finance also analyzes the bill, but that's for the administration, not the Legislature.)

If the measure is successful, it moves to the Assembly floor. However, before it can be voted, the Assembly Office of Research must complete its study of the bill. And finally, if the Assembly approves the measure, it moves to the Senate, where the same process begins anew. By the time the bill gets to the governor's desk, at least 10 staff analysts will have given it an examination.

Many question the need for so much analysis. One such is Democrat Sam Farr of Carmel, who was himself a committee consultant 10 years ago. "The staff is bigger and brighter today, but the product is no different and no better. And there seems to be a lot of work duplicated," he says.

But others argue that bills are often amended in ways that could change their meaning and impact. Thus, even though a bill has been analyzed umpteen times in the past, it may need a new analysis now.

Also, says Floor Leader Garamendi, "I find nothing wrong with different views on a bill. A multi-faceted analysis may not be efficient in terms of organization and management, but in this case (the Legislature) it is appropriate." Or, as Unruh once observed, as the number of staffers involved with a bill increases, the chances for slipping a ringer through the process goes down.

In all, concludes Unruh, lawmakers want more staff because "staff is knowledge and knowledge is power."

The salary structure

According to the Assembly Rules Committee, salaries paid to staff of the Legislature reflect wages and salaries paid for comparable work throughout private industry and the California Civil Service System. The present salary structure (reproduced below) was established, and job descriptions modernized, in 1978 following compensation studies by Touche Ross and Company and personnel consultant Ralph Anderson. These are salaries for all but the top executive positions.

JOB	SALARY RANGE
Chief consultant	$41,268-55,080
Principal consultant	33,804-45,132
Chief, sergeants-at-arms	30,612-40,860
Senior consultant	25,080-38,880
Legislative assistant	22,716-31,872
Associate consultant	19,560-26,100
Legislative aide	19,560-26,100
Executive secretary	18,612-24,852
Committee secretary II	18,612-24,852
Committee secretary I	16,860-22,488
Clerical assistant	15,264-23,628
Secretary	14,496-20,352
Assistant sergeants-at-arms	14,496-20,352
Office clerks	10,764-16,032

The contract advisers

In the past few years, the Assembly has added a new wrinkle to employment practices by hiring some consultants on contract rather than on payroll — a practice the Senate has not used thus far. The ongoing contracts are different from those traditionally given by both houses to individuals and companies for specific studies and services.

John Mockler, the speaker's education expert, is one of seven consultants now under contract. Mockler's contract pays him close to $77,000 per year, but only part of that sum represents "salary." The balance, close to $16,000, is what the state would have paid to furnish Mockler with health insurance, retirement and other benefits, all of which he must now provide for himself.

"It's a tax advantage for the individual," explains Assemblyman Lou Papan, chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee. "The out-of-pocket expense to the state is the same whether someone is on contract or on payroll. In fact, there's more control over a contract because you can terminate it on 30 days' notice."

"The extra cash comes in handy," says Art Bolton, director of the Assembly Office of Research. "I have a small resort in the redwoods, and I can use the extra money to fix it up."

Award of contracts is one of several loosely defined duties and responsibilities outlined for Papan under a resolution adopted by his committee in March 1982.

Professionals currently employed under contract are:

CONSULTANT:	OFFICE:	SALARY:
John Mockler	Speaker's Office	$76,825
Richard Ross	Director, Majority Services	72,000
Tom Isaak	Consultant, Rules	64,516
Art Bolton	Director, Office of Research	64,089
John Husing	Majority Services	50,172
Judy Briggs-Marsh	Speaker's Office	38,000
Alice Huffman	Speaker's Office	35,000

— A.G.B.

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Roster Update

Page 3:

The new commissioner of the Highway Patrol is James Smith.

The new director of the Department of Housing and Community Development is Susan Ann DeSantis, (916) 445-4775.

The new Employment Development director is Kaye Rex Kiddoo.

The new director of the Department of Health Services is Peter Rank.

The new director of the Department of Social Services is Linda McMahon.

The new Office of Statewide Health Planning and Development director is Larry Meeks.

The new director of the California Conservation Corps is Robert Sheble.

Page 4:

The new director of the Department of Corrections is George Denton.

Page 5:

The new director of the Office of Economic Opportunity is Gilbert Montano.

Page 6:

Senator Pete Wilson has added an office in Fresno: 1130 East O St., Fresno 93721, (209) 487-5727.

Congressman Glenn Anderson's preferred district office telephone number is (213) 548-2721.

Congresswoman Barbara Boxer's San Rafael district office telephone number is (415) 457-7272.

Congressman Ron Dellums' Oakland zip code is 94604.

Page 7:

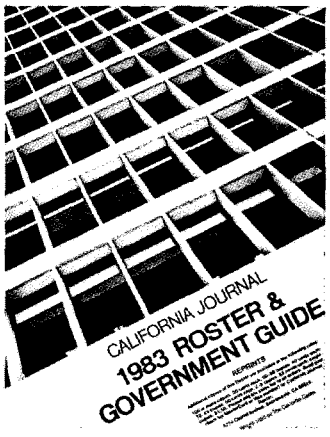
Congressman Gus Hawkins' new district office address is 4509 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90037.

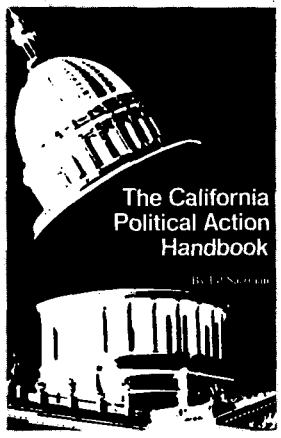
Congressman Mel Levine's new district office address is 5250 W. Century Blvd., Los Angeles 90045, (213) 642-3935.

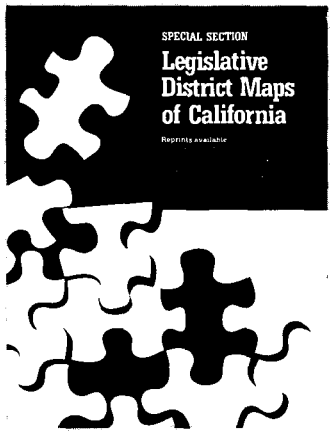
Senator H.L. Richardson's new district office is 211 S. Glendora Ave., Glendora 91740, (213) 914-5855.

Senator Ollie Speraw's Long Beach telephone number should be (714) 760-8833.

Access to the Legislature







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A high-tech 'who's who' for politicking in the Silicon Valley

By MARK SIMON

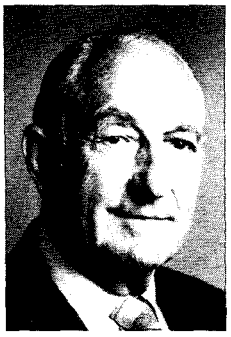
For years there was little reason for politicians to visit the seemingly centerless sprawl of suburban communities in the Santa Clara Valley. Even as the electronics industry transformed the region into Silicon Valley, candidates and elected officials were slow to add the area to their list of major political stops. And most executives in the electronics industry were content to keep it that way. They considered the political system somewhat irrelevant and perhaps inhibiting to the spirit of free-wheeling free enterprise that had made many of them millionaires.

But by last year, some of the Silicon Valley businesses had gotten too big or too international in scope to ignore government's role in their affairs. Other firms had become so successful that their executives began looking for other worlds to conquer. In some cases businesses had matured to the point where survival was assured and their executives' attention could turn to questions of economic and industrial advancement.

For those reasons and more, Silicon Valley has emerged from its entrepreneurial cocoon. Several high-tech executives played significant roles in the U.S. Senate campaigns of Pete McCloskey, Jerry Brown and Pete Wilson. A former Silicon Valley leader was elected to Congress to replace McCloskey. And politicians have begun flocking to Santa Clara Valley, taking factory tours, dining with executives and steeping themselves in the intricacies of research and development tax credits.

What the politicians have found there is a unique set of potential political benefactors. Most industry executives are non-partisan, interested more in individual candidates than in party labels. The executives are a close-knit group who often meet socially or at industry gatherings. Their management style, a variety of free-enterprise populism, places heavy incentives on employee stock options, bonus plans and other worker incentives such as flexible scheduling and in-plant day care for children.

This is an industry without a single dominant spokesperson. Who, then, does a political suitor go to see when seeking industry money, influence and ideas? Here are 10 leaders who have gained significant clout — partly because of their own success but also because of their interest in politics. In fact, two of them are congressmen whose past and present ties to the industry are strong. These 10 are by no means the only movers and shakers, but they form a good lineup to start with when playing the Silicon Valley game.


PACKARD

McKENNA

ZSCHAU

NOYCE

● **David Packard,** chairman of Hewlett-Packard Company of Palo Alto. Packard and William Hewlett founded their company in 1939 with $500 in a garage in Palo Alto. Seven years ago H-P passed $1 billion in annual sales. The company produces precise measurement instruments, hand-held calculators and computers. For years Packard was the major name recognized outside the industry. A conservative Republican, he was an undersecretary of defense during the Nixon Administration.

"His name is still the best to know," says U.S. Senator Pete Wilson. Packard's name on a fund-raising letter is a visa to executive suites throughout the valley. A tall, imposing figure with a confident, no-nonsense air, Packard is one of the leading GOP donors in the country. Even though he disagreed with McCloskey for years over Vietnam and other issues, Packard co-chaired McCloskey's Senate primary campaign last year and was responsible in many ways for McCloskey's unshakable hold on the industry during the primary campaign.

● **Regis McKenna,** chairman and founder of a Palo Alto public relations firm that bears his name. McKenna's was among the first PR agencies to specialize in high-technology clients; his name on an account can give a new firm credibility and attract investors. McKenna's clients include Apple Computer Company, and he engineered the massive wave of publicity that accompanied the introduction of Apple's latest home computer product — including getting Apple Chairman Steve Jobs on the cover of *Fortune* magazine. Exacting, sometimes demanding, McKenna is bright and creative.

There may be no better Democratic contact in the valley. McKenna can call together a meeting of some of the industry's most influential leaders for the benefit of a political figure. He did just that for Governor Jerry Brown, persuading many skeptical executives of Brown's genuine interest in high technology.

McKenna became a key Brown strategist during the campaign — he turned his offices into an unofficial Brown headquarters. And McKenna's influence within the Democratic Party is growing. A typical stack of his daily phone messages will include calls from Democratic National Committee finance officials, House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill Jr., U.S. Senator Gary Hart of Colorado and state Senator John Garamendi.

● **Ed Zschau,** the newly elected congressman from the 12th Congres-

Mark Simon is a writer for the Peninsula Times Tribune *in Palo Alto.*

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sional District. Formerly represented by McCloskey, the district includes the heart of Silicon Valley. Zschau gave up a post as an assistant professor of business at Stanford University to start his own electronics company in Sunnyvale. Zschau also became active in the American Electronics Association, the dominant industry organization, and it was there that he got his first real taste of politics. While chairman of the AEA, Zschau headed an industry assault on the capital gains tax. The effort was successful, to the surprise of many executives who had skeptically joined the lobbying effort planned and orchestrated by Zschau. When McCloskey decided to run for the U.S. Senate, Zschau, a close adviser to McCloskey, was seen as the natural heir. He formed a finance committee of more than 140 persons — a virtual who's who of the electronics industry. Now he is in a clear position to emerge as a leading spokesman for the industry. The first electronics company executive elected to Congress, he has been named chairman of a special Republican task force on high technology.

• **Robert Noyce,** vice chairman and founder of Intel Corporation of Santa Clara. Intel is widely recognized as one of the leaders in the semiconductor industry, the part of the electronics industry that produces memory chips and microprocessors. Noyce — considered to be the engineering genius who made Intel's success possible — won the prestigious National Medal of Science in 1979. His low-key, shirt-sleeves style of management has long been responsible for Intel's reputation as one of the better places to work. Approachable, affable and unassuming, Noyce is regarded as a nice guy in an industry full of hard-edged management types. In recent years Noyce has been more involved in government relations work and politics. Unlike Packard, Noyce's politics tend to be bipartisan, but like Packard, Noyce is one of the industry figures whose personal endorsement carries weight. Last year he supported McCloskey in the GOP primary and Governor Brown in the general election. He was a Brown appointee last year to the UC Board of Regents.

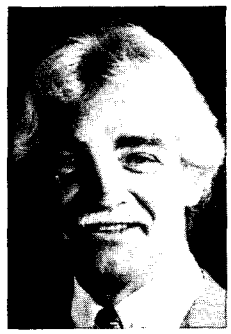
• **Charles Sporck,** president and chief executive officer of National Semiconductor in Santa Clara. National is another leader in the semiconductor industry. Under Sporck's direction, it has been one of the most aggressive companies in product marketing. In the early 1970s Sporck was legendary in the industry for his drive, his energy and his temper. Stories about his ruthlessness abounded — he was widely rumored to have fired employees for such indiscretions as lingering too long by a water cooler. The truth of such stories was never established, but his image was.

At the same time, National's image was also suffering: The company was known for its penny-pinching ways. In local charity drives that routinely received major donations from other organizations, National lagged well behind. Sporck was among the most vocal critics of government in the industry, but he also was one of the first to call for a working relationship between industry and government. In 1980 National became one of the first Silicon Valley companies to establish a political action committee, and it now has one of the most aggressive government-relations programs in the country. State and national political figures routinely visit for a plant tour, a meeting with executives and a question-and-answer session with employees. Sporck has emerged as a leading industry spokesman.

• **W.J. (Jerry) Sanders III,** co-founder and president of Advanced Micro Devices, Incorporated, in Sunnyvale. AMD, like Intel and National Semiconductor, is a semiconductor producer. But unlike its two competitors, AMD has relied more on sales strategies and selection of market niches than on technological wizardry to advance its financial cause. And that approach is an unmistakable mark of Sanders, a man who revels in being described as a master salesman.

There is no flashier or more colorful personality in the industry. Always stylishly dressed, Sanders has owned as many as eight cars, including a sparkling white Ferrari and a Rolls

SPORCK



SANDERS

Royce Corniche convertible. His flair for publicity often has netted him widespread media coverage. To celebrate his company's 10th anniversary, he treated his employees to a $350,000 party at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium. To encourage the company to reach its 1980 sales goal of $200 million, he held an employee lottery. The winner received $1,000 a month for 20 years, tax-free. In his office hangs a poster bearing the saying: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for I am the meanest son of a bitch in the valley."

Sanders is equally adept at sloganeering. In a television campaign, he urged job-seeking engineers to join AMD and "Catch the Wave." The commercial featured a man in a suit surfing. He concluded an AMD annual meeting presentation two years ago by leaping from the stage, shouting "Follow me," and marching from the room while a loudspeaker blared, "Give Me Some Men Who Are Stout-hearted Men."

Sanders could have emerged as a leader in the industry by sheer force of personality. But he has gained growing respect also for his ability to articulate the issues that concern the industry. Repeatedly, Sanders has urged action on Japanese imports, and he has made it clear in interviews and speeches that he believes the Age of Knowledge and Technology will succeed the Industrial Age in America.

In 1980, Sanders became a leading backer of Ronald Reagan and has held positions on several Reagan advisory panels. He is a self-acknowledged

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hard-line Republican, but he was also one of the first industry executives to get to know Jerry Brown, and for years they have argued back and forth on a broad range of philosophical and economic issues. As a result, Sanders came away impressed with Brown's intellect and knowledge on high-tech issues. He says he was sufficiently impressed to withhold what would have been an automatic endorsement of Wilson. He still couldn't bring himself to endorse a Democrat, however.

OSHMAN

KURTZIG

MINETA

JOBS

Ken Yimm, Times Tribune

• **Ken Oshman,** president of Rolm Corporation in Cupertino. Rolm is a leading producer of computer-based telephone exchanges, putting it in direct competition with Bell Telephone and all the little Bells. Within the industry, Rolm is known for its progressive attitude toward its employees. Rolm workers can take advantage of the company swimming pool, workout facilities and paid sabbatical leaves.

Oshman's value as a political contact is derived from the immense respect he is accorded within the industry. He has been a member of the executive board of the American Electronics Association five separate years. Oshman keeps a low personal profile in politics. Like many executives, he is wary of the time and energy that political activity can drain away from the business of running a company. But Oshman's political views, as evidenced by his wide-ranging endorsements and contributions, are clearly bipartisan. In 1980 he supported Ronald Reagan for president, although lately some Rolm exeuctives say Oshman is unhappy with the administration's inattention to small business. In 1982, Oshman endorsed Jerry Brown, but only after putting Brown through a lengthy and rigorous personal interview.

"Ken is widely respected because he has a good mind and he is not easily swayed," says a fellow industry executive. "He often provides a reality check for many people."

• **Sandra Kurtzig,** president of ASK (for Arie and Sandra Kurtzig) Computer Company in Los Altos. ASK was one of the first companies in the valley to specialize in computer software.

Kurtzig is one of the most active of the industry's younger generation of executives. She was a contributor to McCloskey's Senate campaign in the primary and then endorsed Brown during his visit to her company headquarters. She contributed to his campaign and became a key adviser, helping to raise money from the industry and providing advice on strategy. She now serves on an ad hoc committee for the Reagan Administration on relations with high-tech industry. Bright and ambitious, Kurtzig says she gave some thought to running for Congress in 1984 against Democrat Tom Lantos but has decided against it.

• **Steve Jobs,** chairman of Apple Computer Company in Cupertino. Apple is one of the best known of the valley's overnight-success stories. Jobs plunged into politics with a passion in 1982; like Kurtzig, Jobs supported McCloskey in the Senate primary and then got behind Brown in the general. Working with McKenna, Jobs arranged several meetings for Brown with other executives, persuading them to support Brown.

Jobs — along with Packard, Oshman and Noyce — served on Brown's California Commission on Industrial Innovation. Its 380-page report outlines how high technology can be encouraged through legislation, education and economics. With his company's and his personal success assured, Jobs is rumored to be considering a run for office, perhaps as soon as next year.

• **Norman Mineta,** five-term Democratic congressman from the 13th Congressional District. Mineta's district represents most of the Silicon Valley not represented by Zschau. A very popular mayor of San Jose from 1971 to '74, Mineta ran for Congress in 1974 when reapportionment created a district ideal for his brand of moderate liberalism.

A quiet political figure, Mineta is generally regarded as legislatively creative and hardworking. Since his election to Congress, Mineta has made and kept ties with the industry leadership; every other month he has dinner with a small group of industry executives. The topics will vary, covering a broad range of national concerns.

A member of the House Budget Committee for the past six years, Mineta moved this year to a seat on the Science and Technology Committee. He also has formed, with Zschau and a few other members, an ad hoc technology caucus in the House.

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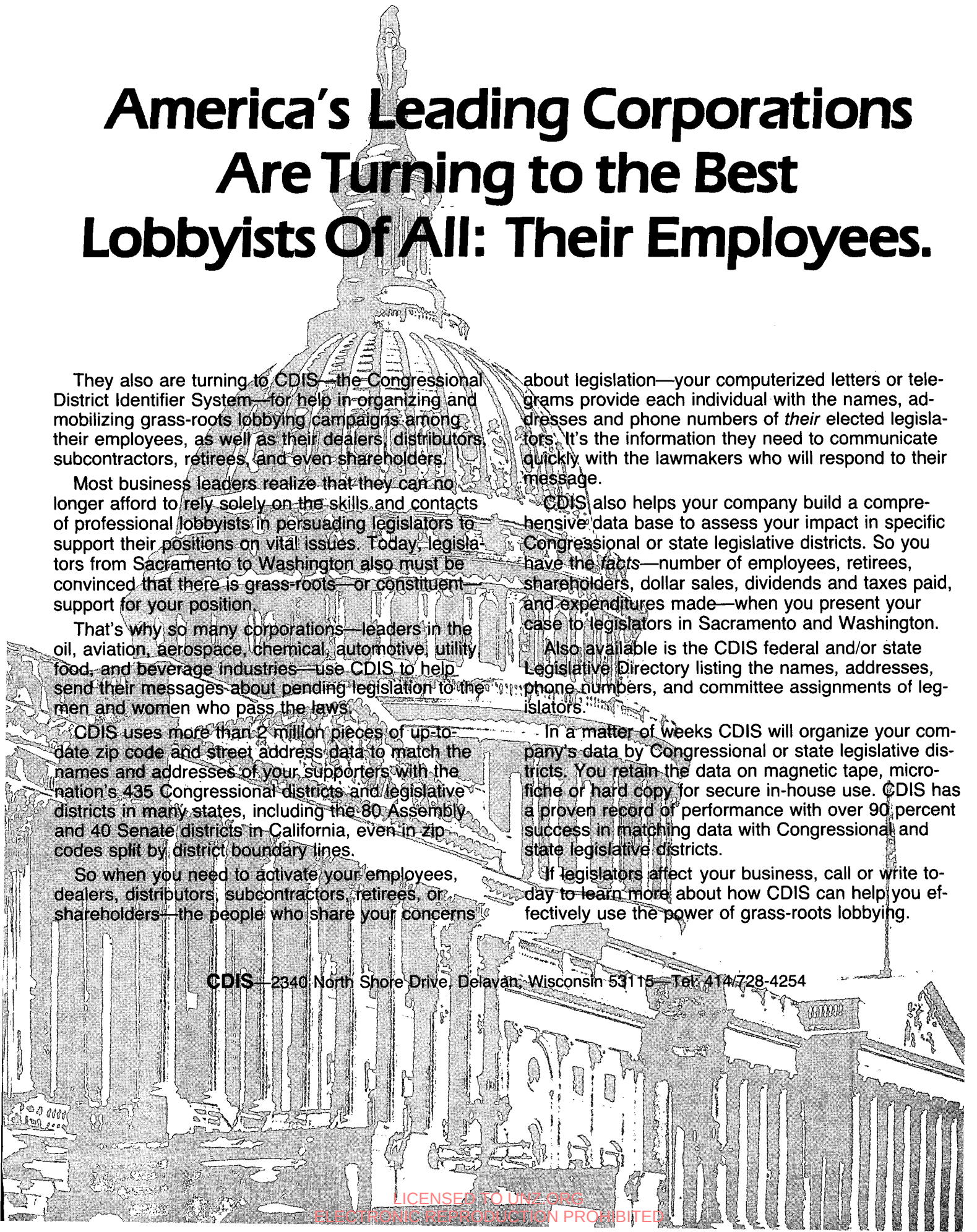

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Jovial Bill Campbell, master of the art of compromise

By JAMES R. CARROLL

The sound of the jeering students rattled against the windows of the Capitol. "No way, we won't pay!" they shouted over and over in a spirited rally reminiscent of the 1960s.

In his third-floor office overlooking the tumult, Senate Minority Leader William Campbell sat jacketless in a velvet-covered overstuffed chair, his back to the window. Republican Senator Kenneth Maddy of Fresno stood at another window, looking down at the angry students protesting Governor George Deukmejian's proposal to increase fees at the state's universities and colleges.

"Garamendi (the Senate Democratic leader) just told them we're not going to balance the budget on the backs of the students," Maddy reported to Campbell.

"Well," said Campbell, an impish grin blooming on his face, "we have to balance it on somebody's backs."

It was a joke, of course. And also typical Bill Campbell — always ready with a bon mot and always jovial.

At 47, Campbell is proof that nice guys can at least finish second. With 16 years in both houses of the Legislature, he qualifies as an old-timer compared to the class of "Proposition 13 babies" and dozens of even more recent arrivals in the Capitol. Campbell is also the veteran among the Legislature's leaders. The Senate has replaced its president pro tem, the Assembly has changed its speaker, and the Assembly GOP has weathered three minority leaders in the years since Campbell became the Senate minority leader. He has used his experience at the bargaining table to considerable effect, making the Senate minority leader's post more than the figurehead position it was only a few years ago. As a result, the Senate and Assembly minority leaders have become more equal power brokers in the four-corner leadership group that runs the Legislature.

But it is Campbell's personality as much as his legislative expertise that has made him, in the estimation of many Capitol observers, a successful minority leader. Although he wants the GOP to do more than ratify the actions of Democrats, Campbell also prefers not to battle futilely with the party that dominates both houses. He likes to be thought of as a reasonable man, always open to accommodation. One of the Legislature's consummate compromisers, he picks his fights carefully.

When negotiations over how to deal with the current budget bogged down, Campbell and Democratic Assembly Speaker Willie Brown were credited by insiders with keeping everyone talking. In fact, Campbell and the Senate Republicans had been ready to settle the issue months earlier, agreeing even to the standby temporary sales tax hike that ultimately became part of the final budget agreement in February.

In 1980 a different, tougher Campbell held up passage of the state budget for a record 16 days in an effort to force an end to automatic cost-of-living increases for welfare recipients. Campbell passed up the Republican National Convention in Detroit to push the issue. But the blockade eventually crumbled after the Assembly GOP went home and wouldn't come back. With the budget hassle eating into summer vacations and souring tempers, four moderate Republicans yielded up their votes to break the impasse. Campbell maintained the Senate GOP had been "bludgeoned and bullied" by the Democrats. But the episode also showed that Campbell probably achieves more when he keeps the tough-guy stuff in the closet.

"Bill's great strength is his likeability," says Maddy, who probably spends more time with Campbell than any other legislator. They talk several times every day, plot strategy together, eat together and lend each other spy novels.

Private and public criticism of Campbell's style of leadership has come from the Republican senator who at one time had hoped to be the minority leader himself: H.L. (Bill) Richardson of Arcadia. Richardson thinks the GOP should be more confrontational.

"I guess Bill's style is a little more direct than mine," says

James R. Carroll, formerly Sacramento bureau chief for the Orange County Register, *has moved to Washington as correspondent for the* Long Beach Press-Telegram *and the Knight-Ridder Newspapers.*

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Campbell of Richardson. "If we were quarterbacks on a football team, Bill would run a single wing and I'd run a T-formation. The single wing (is) where you don't pass the ball, you run through the center every time. I'd be more inclined to a wide-open, more circuitous direction than through the center line. . . Of course, the ultimate goal is a touchdown."

Richardson, on the other hand, doesn't think it's so bad to leave a few bruises on the opponents, even if you can't score the touchdown. "I think we should be more aggressive about that fund raising," Richardson says. "We should be creating more confrontations around here, pointing out what the Democrats aren't doing right in running the Senate. . . The Democrats understand (the value of confrontation), that's why they're in the majority. . . Bill Campbell is very bright, very knowledgeable. But I think I'm a more aggressive conservative than he is. And he enjoys the legislative process more than I do."

(When Richardson is behind his typewriter, the prose is purpler. In a recent column on the differences between the Assembly and the Senate, Richardson scored the Senate GOP minority leader without mentioning his name directly. "The aggressive leadership," he said, "belongs to the young activists that dominate the Assembly, while the sullen, slow, soggy, sluggish and senile sit sophomorically in their Senate seats. Sure is a sorry sight.")

Whatever else can be said about Campbell, no one will deny that he is a man who enjoys the politics of the Legislature. Says Maddy, who chairs the Senate GOP caucus: "I've never seen Bill with a down day. He's high on life, and he transmits that to other people around him." Well, perhaps Campbell enjoys the work a little less than he used to. "All my political life I've been in the minority," Campbell says, throwing his hands into the air. "Boy, would I like to be majority leader."

With only 15 Republicans in the 40-member Senate, Campbell has a way to go to fulfill that wish. How long he is willing to wait and, even more important, how long he will continue fighting the good fight in the political vineyards is an open question. "It's something I ask myself frequently," he admits. But so far, he has no answers.

The baby-grand piano days

He was born William Paul Campbell on July 24th, 1935, in a little place called Coraopolis, Pennsylvania. It's so small you need a detailed map of Pennsylvania to find it, just a few miles northeast of Pittsburgh. It's so small two maps disagreed on the spelling.

Campbell, one of five children, remembers a childhood full of love and happiness, even though "we never really had too much money. But we had a baby-grand piano, and it was the most prized thing in our house. . . . Some of the best, fondest memories I have are (of us) sitting around the piano, the whole family singing away." His mother, Mabel, played the piano, and she convinced Campbell to take it up for a while, "but I gave it up for basektball." He can still play *White Christmas* and some other Yuletide songs.

Campbell's father Clifford sold insurance for a time and later was a mechanic on heavy-duty machinery used to strip-mine the coal from the western Pennsylvania hillsides. His mother was a teacher. His parents moved to California at the end of the 1950s when all the outside work began taking a toll on his father's health. Although Campbell's mother died some time ago, his father is now 82 "and is still going well," the senator reports proudly.

The future legislator developed an early interest in politics. "We used to discuss politics a lot at home," he says. "I've always been pretty much of a conservative — I guess it's the family training, the work ethic." When he went away to Westminster College in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, he studied political science. He left before he got a degree, joining the U.S. Army. He first worked for the Army Security Agency learning cryptography, but found "it was kind of boring." So he joined the 101st Airborne Division, making 27 jumps as a paratrooper and many more skydiving for fun. "That was dumb," he says now, laughing.

When he left the service in 1958, Campbell went to Columbia University and studied political science again. About a year after that, he visited his parents' new home in California, liked what he saw, and stayed.

Campbell took a job "on the public relations and business end of things" for the old Hudson School District near Los Angeles, now the Hacienda-La Puente School District. A

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member of the Young Republicans since he was 16, Campbell got involved in local politics in his adopted home. He was a precinct worker for Richard Nixon in 1960 and helped then-Assemblyman Joseph Shell's unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign in 1962. That same year, Campbell made his first bid for a political post himself, running for the Los Angeles County Central Committee. He won.

As the 1964 elections approached, the Republicans were looking for a sacrificial lamb to run against incumbent Democratic Assemblyman Philip Soto in the 50th Assembly District. Campbell lost the coin toss and was the GOP's candidate. "It was a true draft," he jokes. Campbell was an enthusiastic Barry Goldwater backer in a district with 66 percent Democratic registration. Despite the sweep of President Lyndon Johnson's coattails, Campbell came within 1,000 votes of beating Soto.

In 1966 Campbell opposed Soto again and defeated him by 5,000 votes. Then 31, Campbell was the Legislature's youngest Republican at the time. "I felt fantastic. I couldn't believe I had won. I had to pinch myself. . . . I brought Reagan in on my coattails." He was re-elected to the Assembly in 1968 and 1970. Then, "in a moment of masochism" as he recalls it now, Campbell ran for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors in 1972. Although he came in second in a crowded field, he was one-tenth of a percentage point shy of forcing a runoff. Campbell was out of a job.

Back in private life, Campbell set himself up as William Campbell and Associates and lobbied for hospital interests, the City of Los Angeles and some shopping center owners. In 1974 he succeeded in a bid to return to the Assembly, in part because the lines of his old district had been redrawn and it had become 48 percent Republican. Campbell was also thinking about an upcoming opening in the state Senate's 33rd District, a seat he would win in 1976.

Over the years, Campbell has authored more than 60 bills related to fire services. He is now chairman of the Joint Committee on Fire, Police, Emergency and Disaster Services. He also is one of the few legislators who think former Governor Edmund Brown Jr.'s proposal for space on a satellite to handle emergency communications in the state wasn't a bad idea at all. A recent issue of *The California Fire Fighter*, the organ of the Federated Fire Fighters of California, called Campbell "Mr. Fire Service." The magazine said: "No other state legislator in the history of California has done more to promote the professionalism of the fire service than . . . William Campbell."

The Johnson thorn in Campbell's side

By REBECCA LaVALLY

Senate Minority Leader William Campbell likes to be known as an agreeable man, a negotiator who gets along well with Democrats in both houses of the Legislature. But lately Campbell has had trouble getting along with, of all people, a former ally: Independent Senator Ray Johnson of Yuba City.

The trouble involves reapportionment and Campbell's

DOOLITTLE

JOHNSON

recent friendship with another Republican, Senator John Doolittle, 34, of Citrus Heights. Ironically, Doolittle had once been a protegè of Senator H.L. Richardson, Campbell's arch-rival, but more recently has become what Campbell calls "a valuable asset to the caucus." So, when Doolittle was reapportioned out of his district in 1981, Campbell wanted to help.

The dispute heated up last December when, while drawing new district lines, majority Democrats took away one of three seats previously held by Northern California Republicans. That forced the GOP to make a choice between two incumbents who must seek re-election in 1984: Johnson and Doolittle.

Believing that Johnson might retire quietly, Campbell tried to work a compromise that gave Doolittle at least the chance to wage an effective campaign. Unfortunately, that compromise involved drawing lines that put Johnson's Chico home outside the area he has served as a legislator since 1964. Not surprisingly, the 71-year-old lawmaker balked.

Angrily refusing to retire, Johnson accused Campbell, the consummate negotiator, of giving away his district and of lying to him on the Senate floor. He then bolted the Republican Party and set up shop as an Independent in Sutter County. As a parting shot, he vowed to join any party that returned all of Butte County to his district.

Johnson's refusal to go quietly prompted a not-so-agreeable response from Campbell. "He's putting himself up for sale," he complained of Johnson. Campbell later tried to woo the new Independent back into the GOP fold, but when that failed, Campbell led a floor fight to replace Johnson on the Senate Rules Committee. That effort also failed, because the Democrats sided with Johnson — leaving Campbell frustrated with all those good Democrats he likes to cooperate with around the Senate.

The folksy Johnson says he's not losing sleep over the issue. "I'm going to sit tight and see what happens," he says. "I don't think I should get scared or alarmed. I've got until December to decide if I'm going to be a Democrat, Republican or Independent."

Republicans, however, may lose a few winks. Should an Independent Johnson run against Doolittle in 1984, he could split the friendly vote enough to allow a Democrat to slip into what was, supposedly, a safe GOP seat.

Campbell contends that a number of Republicans, himself included, lost ground in reapportionment and accepted their setbacks with the grace expected of a minority party. "We didn't see fit to throw a tantrum," he says.

Not, at least, until Johnson threw his.

Rebecca LaVally is a Capitol reporter for United Press International.

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The fire fighters did not mention the furor last year over legislation Campbell authored overriding local authority to ban fireworks. The senator claimed the bill was aimed at preventing local governments from preempting state laws that permitted so-called "safe and sane" fireworks. Fireworks manufacturers and charities which sell fireworks lobbied hard for Campbell's bill. City officials and fire chiefs — arguing that fire losses and personal injuries have dropped dramatically in communities with fireworks bans — insisted on preserving local control. Campbell, acknowledged by colleagues as a canny strategist, waited until the last night of the 1982 session to revive the fireworks bill, which had appeared dead. However, subsequent protests by opponents convinced Governor Brown to veto the fireworks bill when it reached his desk.

Jerry Haleva, who became Campbell's chief of staff when the senator was chosen Senate minority leader in 1978, said the controversy over the fireworks bill "was the most traumatic moment I've had in this business, and it was for Bill Campbell as well." The senator was accused of betraying the fire services, of casting aside his own oft-repeated arguments against a dictatorial Sacramento in favor of local governments. "Bill Campbell is a lot of things," Haleva says, "but he is not dishonest, and he is not lacking in integrity."

Luck and muscle

Campbell became minority leader with a little luck and a little muscle. In 1976 he had easily clobbered token opposition from three primary challengers, then defeated Democratic challenger Betty Wilson by 14,000 votes. Campbell was elected to the Senate with four other freshmen, and as a bloc "we decided one of us would run for the (Senate) Rules Committee," he recalls. Five votes in a 13-member caucus had some pull. Campbell made the Rules panel. In 1978, then-Senator George Deukmejian left the minority leader's post when he was elected attorney general. The logical choice for Deukmejian's successor was the GOP caucus chairman, then-Senator Dennis Carpenter of Newport Beach. But Carpenter had decided to leave the Legislature. "My best friend in the Senate was Denny Carpenter," says Campbell. "We used to go out and have eating contests — which we both lost, as you can see." (He looks with amusement at his hefty frame which years ago earned him the nickname "Hacienda Fats." When Campbell was thinking about running for governor, the senator thinned down. How much does he weigh? Haleva only smiles. "A little more than usual for someone 5 feet, 10 inches," he quips.) With his bloc of five votes and some other friends among the veterans, Campbell became minority leader in December 1978. His caucus chairman was Richardson, who didn't have the votes to become minority leader himself.

"I like Bill Richardson," Campbell insists. "We've kind of patched up our differences." But in August 1979 it was clear that Campbell wanted his own man at his right hand. It was also clear that Richardson, with his own political organization that included the financially muscular Gun Owners of California and Gun Owners of America, was not that man. Campbell convinced the caucus to boot Richardson from the chairmanship. Significantly, Campbell was also given the authority to appoint his own deputies, a prerogative previously reserved for the entire caucus. In short order, the then-new senator from Fresno, Maddy, was the new caucus chairman.

Achieving a leadership post is not the only item on Campbell's list of accomplishments in recent years. He says his friendly persistence in adding so-called "sunset clauses" to dozens of programs is now an accepted practice. And he is particularly pleased that he was able to enact a bill permitting doctors to prescribe laetrile to terminal cancer patients, although he had hoped for a broader measure that would have made the controversial drug's use legal under any circumstances.

Assembly Minority Leader Robert Naylor calls his Senate counterpart "a brilliant strategist." Campbell, Naylor says, is "three steps ahead of everyone. He knows where he wants to go, and he knows the maneuvers he must make to get there. . . I think sometimes that perhaps he's a bit impatient with the style of the Assembly Republicans and my newness in office. There is less of an inclination in my caucus to compromise on major issues. Bill is more interested in getting to the end point, the result. Sometimes he thinks our position is impractical and unrealistic. Obviously, that is a difference of opinion."

Johnson and Doolittle

One of the few instances of a breakdown in Campbell's sunny relations with his colleagues involved the redistricting of Northern California. Republican Senator Ray Johnson of Chico buried his usual affability and showed he was mightily angered when a new Senate district did not include his own home. The friction is still making sparks from time to time, and Maddy concedes Johnson's decision to leave the GOP has hurt the unity of the caucus. (See box.)

Another legislator not totally enamored of Campbell is Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose. When the chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee was asked about the GOP leader, his face was grim. "He's a very able guy whom I fear sometimes laughs off reality rather than facing up to his own basic good values."

But others in the majority do not disguise their genuine respect and — perhaps even more rare in the mysterious chemistry of partisan politics — affection for Campbell.

"He's charming, he's friendly, he's everybody's favorite neighbor," says Senate President pro Tem David Roberti of Los Angeles. At the bargaining table, "he's very tough . . . but he also recognizes he has a duty to help run the state. . . . He is the quintessential legislative insider. . . . He knows how to utilize the numbers he does have, he knows how to use his experience and contacts to greatest effect. . . . He's goal-oriented, not confrontation-oriented."

"Bill Campbell," says Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, "clearly understands the art of compromise. He knows how to lead, to figure out that part of the membership that represents an opportunity for a solution; he forges it and leads it. I wish he were a member of my house as Republican leader."

Some of his best friends are Democrats? Campbell grins. "But I wouldn't let my daughter marry one," he says.

The senator is equally popular outside the legislative arena. Last year, Campbell was the champion on the speaking circuit, collecting more than $31,000 in honoraria for talks to such diverse groups as Hollywood Temple Beth El, the California Service Station Council, and Political Action by Pest Control Operators. With two of his three daughters still at home, explains Haleva, who sets up the speaking engagements, a legislator's $28,110 annual salary doesn't go far. (Campbell is married to the former Margene Taylor, and they recently celebrated their 21st anniversary.)

Campbell's political future is uncertain. With no prospects of a GOP majority in the Senate any time soon, the senator admits his thoughts occasionally stray elsewhere. The governorship is locked up for a while because, he says, Deukmejian will run for re-election in 1986. The U.S. Senate is a possibility that year, but Campbell notes the field against the Democratic incumbent, Alan Cranston, may be crowded. If Campbell has decided on a particular course, he is keeping it to himself for now. But everyone knows he is thinking about the future. And always smiling, smiling, smiling.

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REPORT FROM THE CAPITOL FASHION PATROL

By DOROTHY RILEY

The high-fashion magazines have dictated that this is the season for "new-wave conservative" styles. That message appears to have been received and noted in the state Capitol — although there are some splashy exceptions.

Of course any commentary on clothes-conscious legislators must begin by paying tribute to the reigning fashion plate, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown of San Francisco. The key to his preeminence is his attention to detail: the cut of a jacket lapel, the controlled slope of shoulder padding, the fold of silk handkerchief and choice of cufflinks.

On the Senate side, President pro Tem David Roberti epitomizes the cautious-and-correct school of tailoring. His shirts and ties are selected with care, but the total effect is understated and unflamboyant. Other legislators with similar conservative tastes include Assemblymen Wally Herger, Dave Kelley, Bill Leonard, Bob Naylor, Bill Jones, Alister McAlister and Burt Margolin.

Then, for contrast, there is Senator Ralph C. Dills of Gardena. Bright in his colorful plumage, and preened in every detail, his appearance informs everyone present that Ralph C. Dills is there.

And there also are a few fashion mavericks. Vying for the Pendleton-Shirt-of-the-Month Award are three assemblymen: Tom Bates who, according to old-timers, has never been seen in a tie; John Vasconcellos whose former hippie-with-medallion look has been replaced by the Serious Sierra Club Member motif; and Dick Floyd who, like Vasconcellos, is reported to keep a dark suit and tie in his office for emergency purposes.

Another trio of politicians — Senators John Garamendi and Ken Maddy plus Assemblyman Norman Waters — occasionally wear cowboy boots with their business suits. This is apparently well received by visiting rancher-constituents from their foothill and valley districts.

And can anyone ever forget the early image of the "Polyester Poet," Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord? His staff finally convinced the senator to abandon his leisure suits in favor of a more "with-it" wardrobe of natural-fiber shirts and suits.

There is also a small Absent-Minded Professor school of fashion — men whose suits appear a bit too large and persistently crumpled. Notable members include Assemblymen Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, Richard Robinson of Garden Grove and Sam Farr of Monterey. One step beyond them, in the Frenzied Commuter category, is Assemblyman Art Agnos whose tie is usually askew and whose shirt collar rarely rests at the intended angle.

Yet most male legislators look like businessmen and choose colors to match the prevailing economic and political winds. Fiscal-conservative grey, post-Proposition 13 blue and recession black are current favorites. An occasional non-partisan beige gabardine can be seen on Senators Ruben Ayala, Milton Marks and Henry Mello and Assemblyman Stan Statham. Pinstripes are popular with Senators Al Alquist, Leroy Greene, Newton Russell, Jim Nielsen and Barry Keene and Assemblyman Bill Bradley.

From opposite ends of the political spectrum come legislative votes for the classic yachtsman's blue blazer with brass buttons, worn with grey slacks. Both Democratic Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles and GOP Senator John Doolittle of Sacramento like the combination, although they agree on few political issues.

Among candidates for the Willie Brown Club of Impeccable Tailoring are several newcomers to the Assembly, including Rusty Areias, Bruce Bronzan, Jack O'Connell, Tom McClintock and Gray Davis. They favor flannel and tweed sports jackets and two-button suits. Among veteran legislators, the well-dressed list must include Assemblymen Richard Mountjoy, Don Sebastiani, Phil Wyman and Richard Katz and Senator Maddy.

In a fashion niche of their own are the 14 women legislators. Their attire may occasionally be more colorful than the men's, but they are otherwise just as conservative. Assemblywoman Maxine Waters is probably the trendiest dresser among them.

It should be added that the "new-wave conservative" look has been adopted with monotonous unanimity in the new governor's office. The top aides to George Deukmejian are virtual fashion clones in their wire-rimmed glasses, moustaches and three-piece suits. There is some fear being expressed around town that the Deukmejian Aide Look may be contagious.

Dorothy Riley, a Sacramento free lance writer, once worked for Women's Wear Daily.

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How Hedgecock will guide San Diego

By BARRY M. HORSTMAN

During Roger Hedgecock's recent successful mayoral campaign in San Diego, one of his television advertisements featured the then-county supervisor in a constantly changing montage of film clips.

"Roger Hedgecock — what's he doing?" an offscreen voice asked. "He's always doing something," another voice replied.

Most people familiar with San Diego's new mayor would agree that he is, indeed, "always doing something." Whether people like what he does, however, is quite another matter. A moderate Republican with a strong environmentalist record, the 37-year-old Hedgecock narrowly defeated former City Councilwoman Maureen F. O'Connor in a May 3rd runoff to fill the vacancy left by the elevation of former Mayor Pete Wilson to the U.S. Senate.

O'Connor, a Democrat, and Hedgecock qualified for the runoff by finishing first and second, respectively, in a 20-candidate March 15th primary. However, Hedgecock edged O'Connor in the runoff, 105,385 votes (52.3 percent) to 96,238 (47.7 percent), largely by attracting support that had gone to two other major Republican candidates in the primary. The victory earned Hedgecock the right to serve the remaining 18 months of Wilson's unexpired term.

Since taking office in 1977 as the youngest San Diego County supervisor ever elected, Hedgecock has become as well-known for his abrasive personality as for his considerable legislative achievements.

Supporters view him as an intelligent, idealistic, articulate and dynamic advocate for the causes he espouses — notably, environmental protection and growth management to prevent the "Los Angelization" of San Diego. However, his detractors — particularly those in the business and development communities — regard Hedgecock as an opportunistic charlatan who will say or do anything to be elected.

Many of his fellow Republicans distrust Hedgecock because he often talks and acts like a Democrat; many Democrats keep him at arm's length because he is, after all, a Republican.

Hedgecock, a slender 6-footer with dark hair and piercing brown eyes, smiles at the thought that the mere mention of his name can evoke such range of emotions. "Hey, I love a fight," he says.

Among other things, he once called City Councilman Bill Mitchell "mentally ill" and once compared the San Diego County Republican Central Committee to the American Nazi Party for opposing one of his stands.

Known for his merciless grillings of subordinates who appear before the board of supervisors, Hedgecock once was called "Public Enemy No. 1" by the head of one county employees' union.

Hedgecock characterizes his occasional verbal wars as symbols of forceful leadership, adding, "Controversy and debate . . . (are) the essence of democracy. I like to lay my cards on the table; I say what I think. I'd rather just be honest and direct, take my lumps, make my mistakes, move on and learn and go at it again tomorrow, than be cautious and careful and diplomatic."

However, even some of Hedgecock's closest advisers concede that his sharp tongue and aggressive, almost arrogant style sometimes overshadow his accomplishments. Indeed, people often remember not so much what Hedgecock did, but how he did it. "Roger's a very intense guy," says Michael McDade, Hedgecock's campaign manager and his new chief of staff. "I've often felt that he would be more effective if he could rein himself in and go along at three-quarters throttle."

An environmental specialist

Born in Compton but raised in San Diego, Hedgecock worked his way through the University of California at Santa Barbara and Hastings Law School by promoting rock concerts. He traces his environmental consciousness back to a major offshore oil spill at Santa Barbara in 1969. In 1972 he joined a San Diego law firm and quickly became a specialist in environmental issues. Perhaps the most important case that Hedgecock handled involved an attempt by the neighboring city of National City to declare a golf course a "blighted area" so it could use its power of condemnation to pave the way for a proposed shopping center. Hedgecock, representing opponents of the shopping center, won the case before the California Supreme Court, a landmark ruling that helped prevent other cities from bending redevelopment laws to attract development.

Hedgecock began his political career by defeating an incumbent supervisor in 1976. Four years later, he was easily re-elected. He is married and is the father of two young sons.

During his 6½ years as a supervisor, Hedgecock gained a reputation as a fiscal conservative who helped cut the cost of county government by, for example, contracting with private firms to perform services previously done by county workers. During his tenure, the county's payroll was reduced by about 1,800 workers, a point he frequently made during the campaign. Hedgecock also initiated a program in which county garbage will be converted to electricity, and he helped create the county's workfare program under which able-bodied welfare recipients are required to perform public service jobs for their payments.

However, Hedgecock is best-known for his actions on the broad issue of

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Barry M. Horstman is a reporter for the Los Angeles Times *in San Diego.*

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Why the Feinstein recall backfired

By MARSHALL KILDUFF

The outcome of the recall vote to oust San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein was never really in doubt. She had a half-million-dollar war chest, a squeaky-clean image and a hopelessly divided band of opponents who lost votes the more they campaigned.

The big stunner was Feinstein's 80 percent margin of victory — it turned her from a moderately popular figure into something approaching the political godmother of San Francisco. Although Feinstein tried to avoid making the recall a referendum on her five years on the job, she clearly expects to use the results as an endorsement of her policies as she heads for a vote in November for another four-year term.

This triumph was notable for the ingenuity with which her forces harvested a record number of absentee votes. For once, liberals and Democrats were able to harness their traditionally large armies of volunteers directly to the computer skills and absentee-balloting habits that usually favor Republicans. According to pollster Mervin Field, the absentee ballot technique is "going to be used in future elections as a model for increasing voter turnout and will be particularly used by the Democrats in increasing their labor and Hispanic votes. It's going to be a tool for delivering whole blocs of voters who have been avoiding the polls."

Out of 710 precincts, Feinstein won all but one. The one loss was by a single vote in the home precinct of the White Panther Party, a small group of about two dozen pro-gun Marxist communalists who launched the recall. The group cleverly exploited pockets of voters unhappy with Feinstein for issues ranging from high parking-ticket fines to her veto of a measure making "domestic partners" of city employees eligible for fringe benefits.

The Panthers tirelessly rounded up 35,000 signatures to require a recall election, the first since 1947. But White Panther leader Tom Stevens, with his long hair, New York accent and faded denim work clothes, may have spooked voters and definitely annoyed allies. "Every time Tom Stevens appears on TV, we lose hundreds of votes," complained fellow recall backer David Brigode.

The recallers never put up much of a fight. The Panthers refused to have anything to do with "opportunist" allies who wanted to widen the protest beyond the handgun ban. The other Feinstein foes wanted to force the mayor to debate her moderate stands on rent control, downtown highrise growth and gay rights. Feinstein never took the bait, sticking to denunciations that a recall vote was reserved only for corruption or physical incapacity.

The recallers argued they never expected to "Dump Dianne." All they really wanted to do was hold down her margin of victory and encourage a liberal alternative such as Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos to challenge a weakened Feinstein in November. Such a plan, implausible at best, backfired completely. Feinstein is more secure than ever. "Politicians die to be in this kind of shape," says city Supervisor John Molinari.

Field's free advice

One key to Feinstein's landslide was provided when pollster Mervin Field called in February with some free advice. Field had been badly embarrassed last fall when his exit polls on election day told him that Tom Bradley would win the race for governor. After studying the final results, Field decided George Deukmejian had a secret weapon in his absentee voters. State rules no longer required a voter to swear that he or she could not make it to the polls. Now it was only a matter of choice as to voting by mail or on election day, and Republican computers had rounded up far more than the Democrats had.

Why not try this idea in San Francisco? Field asked Feinstein. The mayor turned the idea over to her campaign manager Clint Reilly, a heavy-spending sort who usually relies on television and splashy direct mail brochures. But the absentee ballot idea clicked. Here was a way to fuse two different ways of campaigning: Find a link between the armies of grass roots workers that would flow to a mayor and the big money she could raise to pay for the computer time, staff and postage bills that are part of an absentee ballot drive.

The results were sensational. Instead of the usual 10 percent share of the turnout, the Feinstein absentee effort amounted to 36 percent of the votes cast — about 60,382 ballots — with nearly a 9-to-1 margin for the mayor among the mailed-in ballots.

It wasn't cheap or simple. About $125,000 was spent on the project and from 200 to 300 volunteers were at supermarkets and bus stops every weekend for two months. Reilly hired a staff of 25 full-time people to shepherd the flow of requests for absentee ballots from neighborhood collection points to headquarters where they were processed and hauled to City Hall. The staff kept duplicate records tabulated on a computer in Los Angeles and then set up a phone bank to pester the absentee applicants into punching the No-on-recall hole when the ballot blank came by mail.

Such thoroughness is new stuff for most Democrats. "We're very good at registering new voters, but we usually don't do much about following it up," Reilly says. "One of the things most campaigns do, and I'm guilty of it, is spend a lot of money on media and not on organization. One example is the Tom Bradley (for governor) campaign," he says.

As good as the absentee technique

Continued on page 232

Marshal Kilduff, a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, *wrote "San Francisco's 'Queen Bee'" in the February 1983* Journal.

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HEDGECOCK

Continued from page 230

growth. He opposed development of a planned 40,000-resident housing project near the city's northern border, fought construction of a major east-west highway and led efforts to focus growth in already developed areas. Such positions have caused him to be widely viewed in the development community as a "no-growther."

Arguing that the epithet distorts his record, Hedgecock says he simply wants to "ensure that San Diego grows sensibly so it doesn't become another Los Angeles. Growth does not necessarily have to lead to paved-over canyons, clogged freeways and smog," he said in his standard stump speech. In addition, Hedgecock has proposed a six-point plan designed to protect the city's canyons while expediting industrial and housing development elsewhere — a plan he cites as evidence of his "proper balance" on the growth issue.

Growth management will be one of the continuing challenges that confront Hedgecock as mayor, because San Diego — where population increased in the past 10 years by 29 percent, to 900,000 — remains one of the nation's most rapidly growing cities. The task facing Hedgecock is to try to appease both the environmentalists who view him as one of their own and the developers who will be looking for proof of his commitment to his campaign pledge that "San Diego must and will grow."

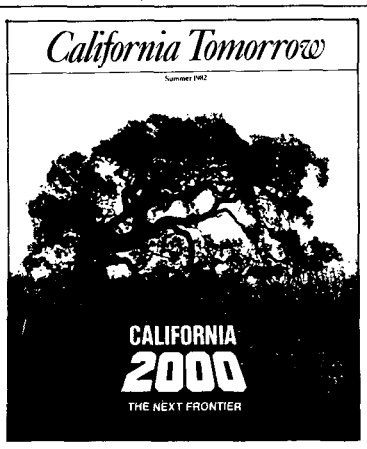
The power struggle

His other priorities, Hedgecock says, are working for approval of a possible downtown convention center, seeking federal funds for expansion of the San Diego Trolley, attracting "clean" industries and "responding quite quickly" to a $410.5-million, 1984 budget recently recommended by City Manager Ray T. Blair, Jr. that proposes cuts in city services, including police and fire service.

Hedgecock also finds himself — through no doing of his own — caught in the middle of a power struggle between the City Council and the mayor's office. Acting with the blessing of Deputy Mayor Bill Cleator, who lost in the March 15th mayoral primary, the City Council recently approved measures that strip the mayor of much of his powers to appoint members of city boards and commissions.

During Wilson's tenure, the mayor appointed members to city boards, subject to council confirmation — a power that Wilson used to assure placement of his political allies in key city positions. However, the council last month shifted that authority to the full council, and additional changes further trimming the mayor's appointive powers have been proposed.

Saying he intends to be "more than a ribbon-cutter," Hedgecock says he believes those changes will not "significantly diminish" his effectiveness. "The sole source of power in this job is the power to persuade . . . four other votes, at a minimum, on that City Council to get something done," he says. "That would be true whether the rule changes were made or not."



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FEINSTEIN

Continued from page 231

was, it had help from other factors. For one thing, Feinstein had no rival candidate running anything close to a major-league campaign. In a real fight, both sides might battle to a draw on absentee voting with no advantage other than a higher vote count. Also, Reilly notes, "We had another luxury — we didn't have to do any persuading." The recall struck so many voters as wrong that all Feinstein forces had to do was push a ballot request form under the nose of a would-be voter. In addition, the April 26th vote came at a time of the year when Reilly found he could hire all the top people he wanted.

"The vote became a marvelous laboratory experiment," Field says. The morale of each volunteer was boosted with every absentee ballot request gathered, he says. "The workers have some positive results to show for all that standing in the rain," he explains.

There was also the problem of getting lightly motivated voters to the polls. In this situation the mail-in ballot is a godsend. Instead of contacting the voter during the 13-hour election day rush, the Feinstein troops essentially had two months.

For Feinstein herself, the results were a much-needed lift for a fragile ego. When she first heard the recall drive had qualified, Feinstein broke down and cried. "Yes, I shed a few tears. I guess I don't have as much of a shell around me as some people think. I was hurt by it," she admits. But Feinstein leaned heavily on her image as a hard-working, incorruptible leader beleaguered by fringe malcontents. She also pulled off a major publicity coup by lining up the 1984 Democratic convention the week before the vote. A *60 Minutes* segment on the recall, emphasizing the Sister Boom Boom and kook-city image, seemed almost calculated to insult local voters into rallying around Feinstein.

After the vote Feinstein held an upbeat, peppy press conference. Looking ahead to November and a second term, Feinstein warned off challengers. "Anyone thinking of running is going to be creamed," she said, sounding more like Jake LaMotta than Little Miss Muffett.

Exactly where this campaign will take her, aside from City Hall, is everyone's favorite guessing game. She insists her heart lies in running for a second term and being remembered as a great mayor. But the resounding recall win, plus the departure of Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, is sure to push Feinstein even further into the national limelight as an attractive and successful woman politician. She is comparatively little known in Southern California which she rarely visits, a problem that may hamper a run for statewide office. But she frequently goes to Washington, where she is highly regarded by lobbyists, bureaucrats and the press. Her current and previous press secretaries were based in Washington, D.C., along with her top deputy. This eastward tilt leads observers to think she is more likely to take a Cabinet job with a Democratic president or maybe a vice-presidential slot in 1984.

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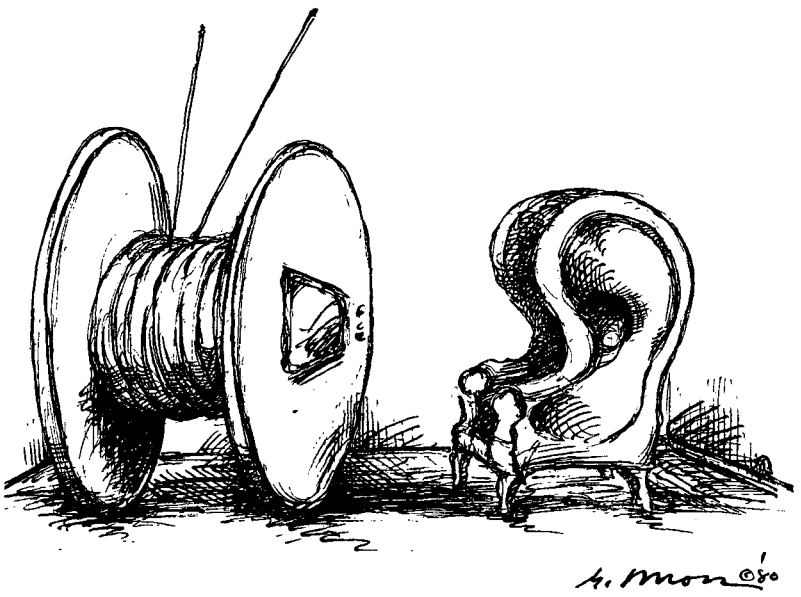
Davis' newest experiment: a cable television cooperative



By LAURIE WATSON-DIAZ

In Los Angeles and some other parts of California, cable television is celebrating its 30th birthday and coping with some middle-age problems of consumer disenchantment. At the same time, a small Northern California community is about to write a new chapter in cable history: an experiment with cooperative ownership and management.

The city is Davis (population 38,000), home of a University of California campus and of trend-setting projects in solar housing, growth control, energy conservation and bicycle trails. Last December its city council awarded California's first cable TV franchise to a co-op of local residents. The license is the first to be granted to a co-op in an urban market anywhere in the nation and the first to offer state-of-the-art technology, according to the co-op developers.

The award ended nearly two years of negotiations and controversy over Davis' cable future. In mid-1981 the city council had rejected several major corporate cable operators and assigned the Davis Community Cable Cooperative, Incorporated (DCC) a franchise.

The consortium promised subscribers local control, community involvement, competitive rates and the chance to own their own cable company in 10 years. It will be financed by a $5 million loan from the National Consumer Cooperative Bank and $2.7 million from third-party investors. Management is the responsibility of Malarkey-Taylor Associates, a Washington, D.C.-based firm.

According to Judy Corbett, chairwoman of the DCC board of directors, cooperatively owned cable is probably the most practical approach for her community. In a subscriber-owned system, she says, cable-generated revenue stays in the community — in local bank accounts, insurance policies and system profits. And once the loans are paid, Davis cable viewers should be paying the lowest rates in the country, Corbett predicts. "Or we can re-invest those profits into something real fancy," she says.

Laurie Watson-Diaz is a free-lance writer in Davis.

Avoiding the gap

But the promises of lower rates and community control are only parts of the co-op's appeal to Davis residents. They also hope to avoid the gap that has developed in many communities between the early promises and actual performance of commercial cable operations. For example, in Los Angeles, where 14 different cable franchises all come up for renewal in 1987, a growing chorus of consumer complaints is being heard at City Hall. The complaints mainly involve delays in installation, flawed reception, poor service and overloaded telephone lines into company offices. Even though the city has granted the franchises over the past three decades, it has little power to punish cable TV firms that serve their customers poorly. "It's legally difficult, if not impossible, to just take a franchise away from companies once they get it," Councilman Art Snyder told the *Los Angeles Times* recently.

In Davis, DCC Chairwoman Corbett believes the competitive bidding process used in most cities is a major problem. "The franchise process is destroying the cable system," she says. "The bidding process is ludicrous; each company has to outbid the other. They are left with impossible promises to fill; they can promise anything. And with deregulation (of the industry) coming, they can charge you anything."

Not everyone in Davis agrees with Corbett, however. When the city council voted in 1981 to dispense with competitive bidding, the decision produced heated criticism. Council members were accused of making a political deci-

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sion designed to get Davis more national publicity. Critics said that DCC could not possibly provide the technological pluses that larger commercial companies could offer. Also, opponents warned, DCC would be heavily indebted to any financial institution that backed it.

But the co-op is moving ahead — organizing public meetings to explain the system, seeking locations for a transmission tower and satellite discs, writing construction bids with the help of Jim Brody, Malarkey-Taylor Associates' full-time representative in Davis. The system, planned to switch on next spring, will offer 52 channels, an institutional loop including service to the UC campus, numerous channels for community access and leased access to local businesses. The co-op expects more than 50 percent of Davis households to subscribe.

Of the original board which proposed a cable co-op in 1980, two members — Corbett and Leon Garoyan, a UC Davis co-op consultant — still remain. Other current members are Karen Fox, a private developer, Jodie Burke, local businesswoman, and Bob Kahn, education and cable consultant and former employee of the state Office of Appropriate Technology. After the initial signup of co-op members, an election will choose a new board of directors. Standing advisory committees also will be established for programming, membership promotion and monitoring of Malarkey-Taylor's management performance.

Subscribing to cable in Davis means first becoming a voting member of the cable co-op, at a cost of $200. The one-time, refundable equity fee may be paid in monthly installments of $4. After that, DCC says, the rates will be competitive with other new systems serving cities of comparable size. It is not yet clear whether subscribers will be charged for installation.

Homeowners can expect to pay $7.95 for the first "tier," or level, of service. That includes 27 channels, four of which are community channels reserved for locally produced programming. The second tier of service costs $10.95 for 52 channels. Pay or premium services cost an additional $8.95 for each channel. These include such offerings as Home Box Office, Disney Channel, Cinemax, Bravo, Home Theater Network and Playboy.

Although neither management nor the board of directors is ready to call these rates "fixed," the city council has been assured that the DCC board "can only modify fees downward or provide more services for the same fee." In 10 years, the cable cooperative plans to install an interactive or two-way system that allows subscribers to shop, take part in opinion polls and select programming from their own living rooms.

The city of Davis also hopes to benefit from the co-op structure. Once the organizing board is replaced by an elected body, city officials intend to leave the oversight functions to the cooperative's leaders. The city expects that its share of estimated cable revenues (about $60,000 annually) can be plowed into the general fund rather than using those dollars for enforcement.

What can a city do to ensure that commercial cable firms deliver as promised? Very little, say officials in Los Angeles where the cable TV division in the city's Department of Transportation is getting as many as 40 complaints a day. When contracts come up for renewal in 1987, the LA council perhaps can impose stricter conditions or even cancel some franchises. But the new prospects of federal deregulation of the cable industry raise doubts that any city can force a company to deliver as promised — a fact that helped end negotiations between two Sacramentos (city and county) and United-Tribune Company for a multi-million-dollar city-county cable system.

Apples and oranges

Comparing rate structures of different cable systems is like comparing apples to oranges, according to industry representatives. (See box.) Jerry Yanowitz, director of operations for California Cable Television Association, explains: "One can't compare Davis or any other new-built system with one that's been in existence for five years or more. You can expect the average subscriber to generate more revenue in newer systems, because there are more options available initially than there were in the older systems. As other channels become available in older systems, the number of new subscribers on the second and third tier is proportionately less."

Mayor Bill Kopper believes Davis residents are getting a good deal. They will be able to control what's on the air, control the rates and control the addition of new technology," he says. DCC Chairwoman Corbett believes the biggest advantage is community access. "The board felt this was something Davis would want. It (Davis) doesn't like to be fed stuff — it likes to think for itself," she says.

Capsule views of cable packages

Comparing cable television offerings from city to city is difficult because the packages vary considerably in size, content and cost. Here are the offerings in some California markets:

- **DAVIS** — Davis Cable Community Cooperative, to begin service next year. Membership-equity fee (refundable) $200, payable $4 monthly. Monthly rates: $7.95 (27 channels, four of them for local programming); $10.95 (52 channels); $8.95 for each premium service (Home Box Office, Disney, Home Theater Network, Playboy, etc.)

- **ALAMEDA** — United Cable Company recently awarded a franchise. Monthly rates: $3.95 (52 channels including six locals), $5.95 (78 channels); $7.95 (96 channels); $7.95 for each premium service (HBO, Showtime).

- **MOUNTAIN VIEW** — Via Com Cable Company; construction to be completed this month. Free installation; first 13 channels free. Monthly rates: $3.95 (46 channels); $6.50 (68 channels); $9.95 (94 channels). Six premiums available, $8.50 each. Installation: $15 for each tier, $10 for premiums.

- **BURLINGAME** — Pacific Cable, installed in 1982. Monthly rates: $10.50 (40 channels including 21 satellite networks and three locals). Six premiums, $9.50 each.

- **LOS ANGELES** — 14 different franchises — the first since 1952 — all expiring in January 1987. Monthly rates, $7 to $8 average. Premiums, $9.95 to $12.95.

- **SAN FERNANDO VALLEY** (west end) — Valley Community Cable, since 1981. Monthly rates: $8 (54 channels).

- **SAN FRANCISCO** — Via Com Cable, since 1967. Monthly rates: $10 (35 channels including superstation WTVS). Premiums, $7.50 to $12.55.

- **SAN DIEGO** — Two cable franchises for 20 years. Monthly rates: about $11 (25-28 channels). Southwestern Cable offers HBO premium; Cox Cable offers three movie channels.

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Free advice from your state agencies

By JERRY JEFFE

To Jane and John Q. Public, state government sometimes seems vast, confusing and impenetrable. That's not always true, however. For many daily problems or questions, help from a state agency is only a free telephone call away.

Following is a list of government departments and offices which provide toll-free numbers to handle citizen inquiries and complaints. Short descriptions of typical uses also are provided. Although all numbers have been recently verified, you should know that state agencies occasionally change, add or drop toll-free numbers without notice. Some of the lines are extremely popular, so don't be surprised to get a busy signal at first.

AIR RESOURCES BOARD

If you're wondering what emission-control equipment is required to get your car licensed in California, call **800/242-4450** or **800/242-4301.**

Want to report a source of excessive air pollution? The ARB's enforcement division takes complaints on a tape recording and then follows up. Dial **800/952-5588.**

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Consumer complaints that may lead to criminal charges, plus general inquiries about the AG office's role in law enforcement pour into **800/952-5225.**

AUDITOR GENERAL

If you think you've seen a case of waste or fraud in a state agency, call **800/952-5665.**

CALIFORNIA CONSERVATION CORPS

Want to become a member of the Corps? Information on program requirements and opportunities are available from **800/952-5522.**

CALIFORNIA ENERGY COMMISSION

The salesman has told you that state tax credits for solar energy systems will virtually pay for the heating units he wants to put on your roof. If you want to be sure, call **800/952-5670.**

CALIFORNIA WASTE MANAGEMENT BOARD

Where can you recycle aluminum or legally dump used oil? Any question on solid waste management can be phoned to **800/952-5545.**

CONSUMER AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF

If you think an auto repair shop ripped you off, call **800/952-5210.** If you have a complaint about the treatment you got from a dental hygienist or dental assistant, dial **800/522-5253.**

CRIMINAL JUSTICE PLANNING OFFICE

Information on crime prevention methods is available at **800/952-5558.**

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, OFFICE OF

For low-income persons unable to pay their utility bills, there may be help from the Energy Assistance Program. To learn if you qualify, dial **800/952-8311.**

EMERGENCY SERVICES, OFFICE OF

To report any kind of spill of hazardous materials — accidental or otherwise, oil or chemical, on land or water — dial **800/852-7550.**

FISH AND GAME, DEPARTMENT OF

You can report animal poachers anonymously to the Statewide Secret Witness Program (Cal-Tip) at **800/952-5400.**

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

Looking for a farmers' market in your area? Information of all kinds on direct marketing of produce is available at **800/952-5272.**

FRANCHISE TAX BOARD

Questions about state income tax laws and forms can be phoned to **800/852-7050** by Northern Californians and **800/852-5711** in Southern California.

HEALTH SERVICES, DEPARTMENT OF

Referrals to area venereal disease clinics are handled at **800/952-5250.** If you have a complaint against any doctor or hospital on quality of care (not malpractice), dial **800/822-6222.** The latter number also can be used for reports of suspected fraud or abuse in the Medi-Cal program.

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF

Information on registration and titling of mobilehomes and commercial coaches is available at **800/952-8356.** Complaints on purchase, warranty or service problems related to mobilehomes also may be phoned to **800/952-8356.**

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF

A consultation service dealing with compliance with the California Occupational Safety and Health Act (Cal-OSHA) is available at **800/652-1476.**

STATE BANKING DEPARTMENT

Complaints against California chartered banks may be reported to **800/622-0620.**

STATE CONTROLLER

Since 1977, the state has permitted some senior citizens to postpone paying property taxes until they move, sell or pass away. To determine if you qualify for the postponement program, call **800/952-5661.**

STATE PERSONNEL BOARD

Information on what is covered by the State Privacy Act, and some personal data kept in state files, are available at **800/952-5562.**

STATEWIDE HEALTH PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, OFFICE OF

Information on free and part-pay health care services for persons unable to afford them is available at **800/952-5270.**

VETERANS AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF

Questions about Cal-Vet farm and home loans can be phoned to **800/952-5626.**

WATER RESOURCES, DEPARTMENT OF

Flood and water-conservation information is available from the Flood Center at **800/952-5530.**

Jerry Jeffe is a newspaper columnist in Inglewood who writes on state and federal government affairs.

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ROSTRUM

Subsidizing motorists

As the California Legislature and the new governor wrestle with each other and with the consequences of Proposition 13, it may be useful to explore the origins of the proposition and its passage in 1978. Proposition 13 resulted from a perception by the voters that explosive increases in property taxes in the early 1970s were due to gross misuse of public funds. In reality these tax increases arose from another problem in our tax system.

The problem is that one group of citizens is required to pay for the costly services used by another group. Property and sales taxpayers pay for the expensive contributions of local government to the motoring public. While many of the first group are also members of the second, it is only relevant that motorists pay no user-fee to offset the costs they impose on the community. Their consumption of services, materials and other resources is effectively uninhibited by market forces. . .

Cities furnish police and fire protection, they maintain streets and sidewalks, furnish traffic engineering services, install and maintain traffic signals, street signs, regulate and provide parking facilities, etc.

If motorists were required to pay for the municipal services which are essential to the operation of their cars, they would pay 50 cents more per gallon in fuel tax added to the present 18 cents.

The truth is that the motorist was (and is) heavily subsidized by the property taxpayer and others; this was the operative cause for the tax escalation of the mid-'70s. Another consequence is that these subsidies have generated wasteful public and private practices and expenditures in the automotive sector. These expenditures are so great that they may well affect our ability to compete in world markets.

STANLEY HART
UC Irvine

The greatest problem

Douglas Foster's article, "Toxic trickle-down," (*CJ*, May 1983) . . . did not deal with what is the greatest and almost-completely-ignored drinking water pollution problem. . . Chlorine treatment of drinking water ranks as one of the great public health advances of this century. . . But in recent years, research has found that chlorination of surface waters produces unexpected side effects. Most surface waters contain some natural organic compounds from decaying vegetation. These compounds and some man-made chemicals often occur at such low levels that they are of little health concern. But chlorine can react with many of these chemicals, transforming them into substances that could threaten health. . .

The facts about chlorine disinfection have been known for several years. They have been studiously ignored, apparently because no one has discovered a replacement that solves the problem without creating such high risks for water. If there are those dedicated to suing governments over water contamination, they do not have to look any farther than their local "safe" water district.

BILL AMBROSE
Executive Manager
Del Norte Taxpayers' League
Crescent City

The long-awaited 1983-84 edition of California Journal's **Almanac of California Government and Politics** is finally available. This fourth edition contains 192 pages in 5½" x 8" format, packed with facts, figures and information on every aspect of California government and politics.

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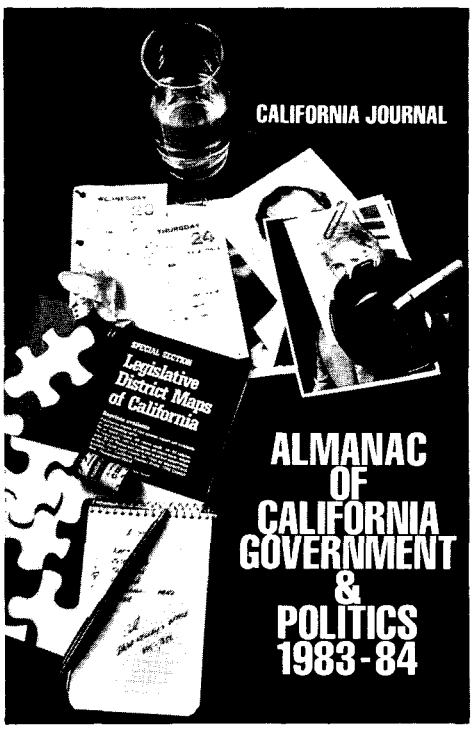

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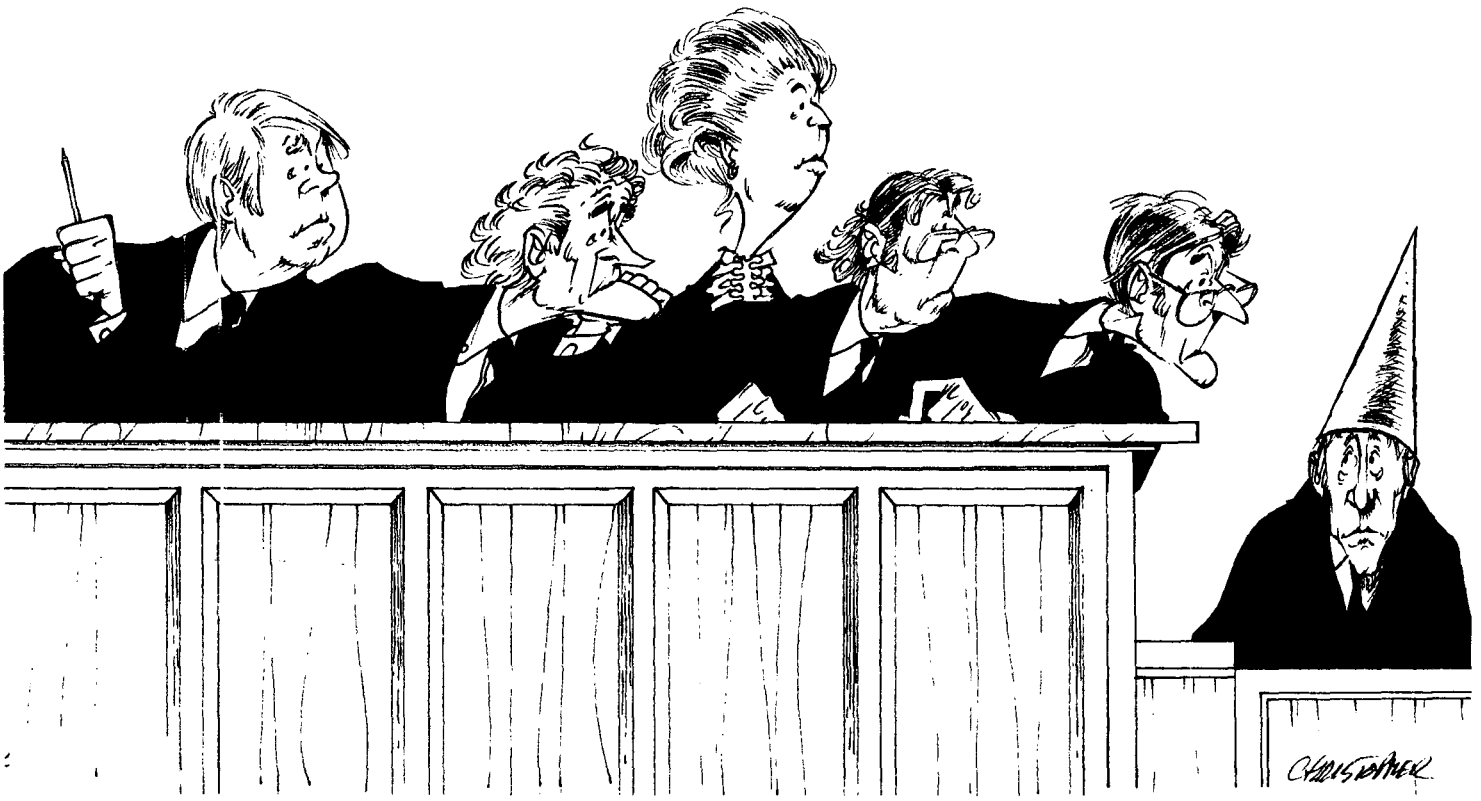
The expanding role of the Judicial Performance Commission



By ALICE CUNEO

Said the judge to the Jewish deputy district attorney, Wendy Widlus: "Tell me something, Wendy: With all the interbreeding you people do, aren't you afraid that you will produce a race of idiots?"

And he's a judge no more.

True, Mario P. Gonzales was removed from the East Los Angeles Municipal Court bench last February for other reasons as well. But his remark to Widlus — delivered during a staff Christmas party — was important to those who had him fired. And the fact that they could use it against him demonstrates the growing scope of their powers to police the California judiciary.

The "they" is the Commission on Judicial Performance, the state agency responsible for dealing with judges who misbehave. Created in 1960, it investigates complaints against judges and decides what — if anything — the judge did wrong. It then passes its package of "charges," along with a recommended punishment (censure or removal from office), to the state Supreme Court.

Thus, over the years, as the court has handed down its judgments — accepting commission charges of wrongdoing in some cases, rejecting them in others — a whole new body of law has been created that tells California judges what they may and may not do. Given the fact that the process started from scratch and that the state has an activist Supreme Court, it is not surprising that the scope of the law has grown enormously, covering forms of judicial behavior that would not have been challenged 23 years ago.

The most recent example is the Gonzales case of last February. According to Jack E. Frankel, who has directed the commission staff from the start, the case broke new ground by telling judges that even remarks made at a staff social gathering (Gonzales says he was joking) may be used against them.

Off on a drunk

As indicated, it wasn't always thus. The case that led to the commission's creation was a flat-out dereliction of duty: a Superior Court judge in a rural county who was off on a drunk when needed for a murder trial. Chief Justice Phil Gibson was outraged, but could not act. The law provided for a judge's removal only through impeachment, and being drunk was not an impeachable offense. The solution was a constitutional amendment adopted by the Legislature that set some broad standards for judicial behavior, established punishments and created the commission to investigate alleged wrongdoing and provide the court with facts. Approved by voters in 1960, the amendment has been modified twice since then, in 1966 and 1976.

Headquartered in San Francisco, the commission consists of five judges appointed by the Supreme Court, two

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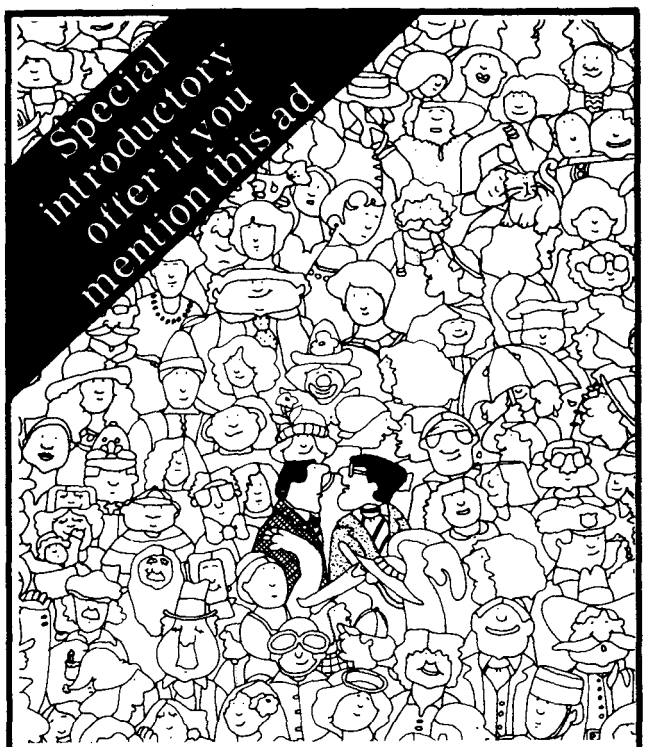
lawyers appointed by the State Bar and two gubernatorial appointees who must be confirmed by the Senate. There is a six-member staff and a budget this year of $267,000. Last year the commission received 360 complaints about California's 1,300 judges. Since its inception, the commission has helped remove six judges and publicly censure 10 others.

The commission's first big case came in 1973 when, for the first time, it recommended the removal of a judge. The dubious distinction went to Leland Geiler of the Los Angeles Municipal Court who was accused, among other things, of chasing an attorney about his chambers with a battery-powered dildo and then later, in open court, threatening the attorney with more of the same. A clear case of willful misconduct, said the Supreme Court as it agreed with the commission.

According to Frankel, the case was important also because the court used it to make the point (not related to Geiler) that a judge's behavior off the bench — even if undertaken innocently — could be punished if it gave the appearance of being unjudicial or caused reduced public esteem. However, the off-bench behavior generally has been regarded by the court as being less serious than wrongdoing on the bench itself.

Thus, Geiler (who mentioned the dildo in open court) was removed from office while others who engaged in similarly unique behavior have escaped with censure. In the latter category, Frankel cites the cases of Judge Robert S. Stevens of Los Angeles Superior Court, who made obscene phone calls to a Sacramento couple, and Judge Charles S. Stevens (no relation) of Santa Barbara Superior Court, who used words like "nigger," "spic" and "coon" in his chambers.

The lack of evidence tying such behavior to the outcome of any case caused Associate Justice Stanley Mosk to dissent from censuring Charles Stevens a year ago. "The Commission on Judicial Performance found that Judge Stevens has at all times performed his judicial duties fairly and equitably, and free from actual bias against any person regardless of race, ethnicity or sex," Mosk wrote. "That is where the matter should have ended. Despite that express finding, however, the commission has elected to seek the judge's censure because of distaste for his colorful vocabulary."



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Breaking new ground

As mentioned, the Gonzales case broke new ground by extending the ban on injudicious remarks to staff social gatherings. "Derogatory remarks, although made in chambers or at a staff gathering, may become public knowledge and thereby diminish the hearer's esteem for the judiciary — again regardless of the speaker's subject, intent or motivation," the court said in its unanimous decision.

However, not all of Gonzales' intemperate behavior was outside the courtroom. The one-time taxi driver, appointed in 1972 by former Governor Ronald Reagan, once asked a Japanese-American juror about the price of "fish heads and rice" and inquired about the cost of watermelon from a black juror who worked as a grocery clerk.

Several times Gonzales offered to release criminal suspects before trial if their lawyers would give the court a $25 personal check made out to their favorite charity. He promised the checks would be returned if the clients appeared for trial. He once held a "bargain day" for defendants and marked half off his usual fine.

"Judge Gonzales' misconduct has been persistent and pervasive. Because we recognize the important role that the Municipal Court judge plays in our judicial system, we cannot risk the recurrence of petitioner's misconduct," the court said. It accepted 20 out of 21 counts filed by the commission against Gonzales.

'Persistent inability'

In 1978, the court and commission set a new standard for action by looking at the way in which a judge does his work. In this case it was Arden Jensen of the Santa Barbara Superior Court who, it seemed, could not make a decision. "He was the prototype procrastinator," Frankel says. Jensen was censured for "persistent inability" to perform his duties. The commission based its recommendation for censure on a state law that requires judges to sign a pay affidavit saying they have no pending decisions that are older than 90 days. Judge Jensen, a personally popular man, was found to have signed such affidavits despite his record of delayed decisions, according to Frankel.

"In the judicial sphere, it's revolutionary that you don't have to prove that somebody did something maliciously or deliberately — and you do it on the basis of an objective test," Frankel explains. The use of "persistent inability" grounds for a recommendation of censure would have been a "real shocker in the early days of the commission," he

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adds. But by 1978, he says, "it had gotten to the point where it was acceptable."

The commission's most celebrated case came up in 1979 when commissioners investigated the Supreme Court itself. The investigation, requested by Chief Justice Rose Bird, followed allegations that the court had played politics by delaying its decision to overturn the "use-a-gun, go-to-prison" law until after the November 1978 election, when Bird and three other justices were on the ballot for confirmation.

The commission conducted a five-week public hearing that gave the public a rare glimpse into the workings of the court, its rivalries and personal feuds. The commission closed the case with a brief report dismissing the allegations. (The law was eventually upheld on a second hearing.)

The commission's critics

Lawyers differ on the value of taking a case to the commission. "The consensus among lawyers is that going to the commission is a waste of time," says Robert Gnaizda of the San Francisco-based Public Advocates. The panel, he says, goes after judges who have "repetitive violations which go well beyond what the lay public and the vast majority of lawyers would find reprehensible."

But Justice John T. Racanelli of the 1st District Court of Appeal in San Francisco, the chairman of the commission, disagrees with Gnaizda. "It is clear the Supreme Court intends to hold judges to very high standards regarding off-the-bench conduct," he says. "A judge would be very wise to be certain his conduct strictly complies."

The commission also has been criticized for conducting its formal hearings (in which an accused judge defends himself) in private. Some contend that the public should be admitted; others contend that the resultant publicity could cost a judge his election even if the commission found him blameless. Racanelli is undecided. "I prefer more debate before forming an opinion of my own," he says.

Judging from a recent case, the Supreme Court is not adverse to publicity about commission recommendations, even before the court itself has made a final decision in the case. The court in April rejected a judge's contention that the commission announcement of its recommendation for his censure amounted to "prejudgment" of his case. The judge, Mono County Superior Court Judge Harry R. Roberts, was censured for, among other things, striking a police officer who was trying to give a field sobriety test to the judge's son.

Justice Mosk disagreed with the court majority, saying that censure by the court after public recommendation of censure by the commission "doubles the reflection on the judge's judicial performance in the eyes of his constituents. Not even the most heinous conduct merits infliction of the same discipline twice."

Frankel, who reviews each complaint, says the greatest number of complaints are from the public — the mother or wife of an unsuccessful litigant — and about 80 percent are invalid. Of the substantive complaints, about half are filed by lawyers, he says.

"The commission does not investigate judges for the correctness of their rulings and has no power to influence a judge's decision or to interfere in the conduct of a case," he says. Also, the commission must vote to approve every step of a staff investigation and can close an inquiry with or without telling the judge involved. Sometimes, Frankel says, cases are closed with a private "stinger" or "educational warning" to the judge.

"You go up the mountain a little," says Frankel, reviewing the commission's record. "Then you have to take shelter during a driving blizzard, wait a while — and when it clears, start up the mountain again."

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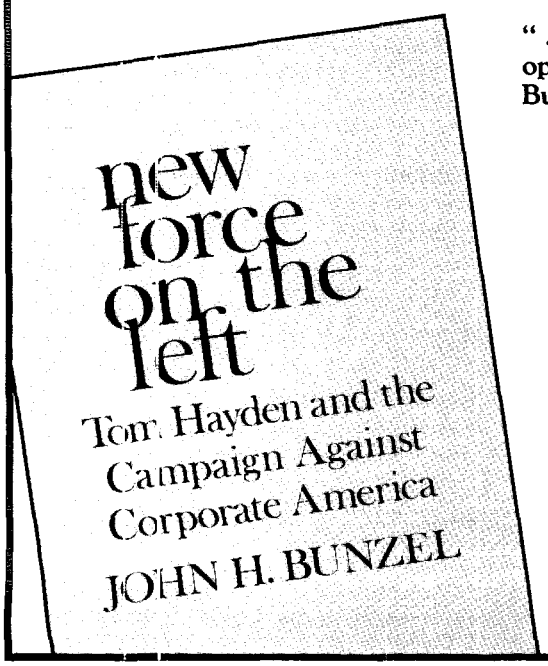

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NEW IN PRINT

The Money Savers Project: An Exchange of Ideas — Published cooperatively by the League of California Cities, County Supervisors Association, Cal-Tax, and Main Hurdman. 79 pages. Contains 153 money-saving ideas on how cities and counties can cut local government costs. Also includes ideas on ways local governments can make money. Limited availability. For information, contact the office of Senator Robert Presley, State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

Ounces of Prevention: Toward an Understanding of the Causes of Violence — Commission on Crime Control and Violence Prevention final report. 201 pages. A research document on the causes of violence and criminal behavior that recommends actions to reduce the occurrence of violence in society. The report identifies 10 categories of factors and experiences producing violence, with child abuse and alcohol abuse as the leading causes of crime. Limited availability. Write "Ounces of Prevention", c/o OCJP, 9719 Lincoln Village Drive, Suite 502, Sacramento 95827.

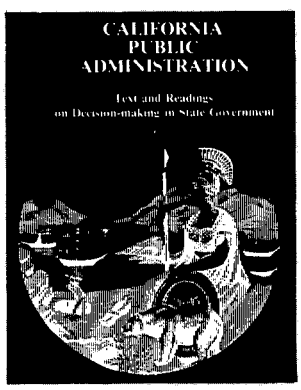
Is Our Water Safe To Drink? — Prepared by the Assembly Office of Research, 1100 J St., Sacramento 95814. The report finds that there is widespread contamination among underground water supplies, which provide nearly half of California's drinking water. Contamination comes from numerous sources and state laws are inadequate to prevent it or identify it after it occurs. Recommended action includes tougher law enforcement and legislative action. Summary of report available separately.

Statement of Vote: General Election, November 2, 1982 — Official election figures compiled by the Secretary of State, including the total number of votes cast for each candidate and office. Also contains tabulation of votes by counties for each office, ballot propositions, and judicial candidates. 49 pages. Available from Secretary of State, 1230 J St., Room 219, Sacramento 95814.

Report of Registration: March, 1983 — Official registration figures compiled by the Secretary of State for all persons registered to vote. Includes registered voters by political party, county, and legislative district. 46 pages. Available from Secretary of State, 1230 J St., Room 219, Sacramento 95814.

Legislature: California's School for Politics, by William K. Muir, Jr. — Published by University of Chicago Press. 219 pages, $19. The author, chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, studied the California Legislature during the 1975-76 session while serving as an Assembly committee staff member.

1983-84 Lobbyist and Employer Registration Directory — Published by the Secretary of State, April 1983, 264 pages plus insert, $3. Names, addresses and photographs of lobbyists and the interest groups they represent. Order from Secretary of State, Political Reform Division, PO Box 1467, Sacramento, 95807, or 1230 J Street, Room 219, Sacramento.



From California Journal Press

California Public Administration

by T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman

California Public Administration, first published four years ago, has become a basic resource for students of California's system of government and for individuals who want to learn about the inner workings of the state bureaucracy. This new second edition contains a special section on the California tax revolt and the impact of Proposition 13. Sections are included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy.

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The ballot front . . .

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. (Signatures required and deadlines are in parentheses.)

In circulation:

- **LEGISLATURE: RULES, PROCEDURES, POWERS, FUNDING** — an initiative statute to specify membership on Senate and Assembly committees, to require a two-thirds vote of each house and specified legislative committees on rules, committee assignments, appointments by the Assembly speaker and disbursements of funds, to reduce (by 30 percent) legislative support appropriations, to limit future growth to the same rate as overall state spending and to require public reports and audits of the Legislature. (393,835, October 7th)

- **BALANCED FEDERAL BUDGET** — an initiative statute requesting Congress to call a constitutional convention to pass a requirement for a balanced federal budget. (393,835, September 16th)

- **REAPPORTIONMENT OF ASSEMBLY, SENATE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** — an initiative statute to repeal Democratically drawn boundary lines approved by the Legislature in January and to replace them with districts drawn by GOP Assemblyman Don Sebastiani. (393,835, September 1st)

- **GOVERNMENT PENSION PLANS** — a constitutional amendment initiative designed to save state and local government funds by requiring all new employees after January 1st, 1985, to enroll in the federal Social Security program (630,136, June 30th)

Qualified for next election:

None to date.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

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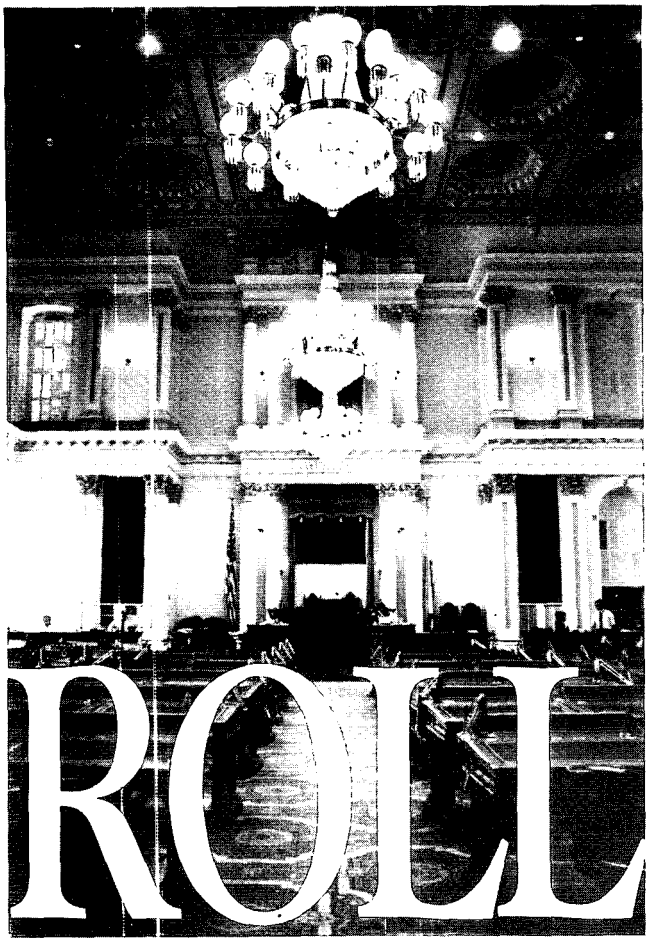

ROLL CALL

ASSEMBLY

CHILD LABOR

AB 688 (Floyd). Prohibits the employment of children under 12 in hazardous agricultural occupations. Supporters say the law now covers 12- to 15-year-olds and should be extended to the lower ages. Opponents argue that increasing fines from $200 to $5,000 for violations is unreasonable. Failed April 11th, 22-35.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Bane, Bates, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Elder, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Katz, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Tanner, Tucker.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Seastrand.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Areias, Bronzan, Clute, Condit, Costa, Johnston, Peace, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Sebastiani, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

LIE DETECTOR TESTS

AB 346 (Floyd). Prohibits state and local governments from using lie detector tests on employees or job applicants. Proponents say public employees should have the same legal protection as employees in the private sector. Opponents say proper screening of civil servants is reasonable because of the positions they hold. Passed April 25th, 41-35.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Areias, Costa, Killea, Moorhead.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

CRIMES

AB 1364 (Sher). Allows various crimes, such as assault, battery, vandalism, loitering, public drunkenness, speed contests in vehicles, and possession of not more than one ounce of marijuana to be prosecuted as either misdemeanors or infractions under specified circumstances. The purpose is to save time and expense in the handling of minor misdemeanor cases. Opponents argue that allowing crimes to become infractions in some cases does not serve the ends of justice. Passed April 28th, 41-35.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Calderon, Condit, Katz, Peace, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

EMPLOYEE HONESTY

AB 621 (Klehs). Prohibits employers from requiring employees or job applicants to take written tests to determine their honesty. These tests, it is argued, are similar to polygraph tests and cannot verify a person's honesty with 100 percent accuracy. Employers maintain that they are a reliable and fair method of assessing attitudes and psychological profiles. Failed May 2nd, 27-39.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Clute, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hayden, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Roos, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Areias, Chacon, Condit, Katz, Peace, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

LOYALTY OATH

AB 1891 (Agnos). Authorizes compensation of $25,000 to the widow and three children of a former state employee who refused to sign the now unconstitutional loyalty oath, was fired for it and later committed suicide. Supporters argue that the employee's refusal to sign the oath prevented his finding employment and that his widow's claim against the state helps compensate her for the financial hardship. Opponents say that paying the claim would open the door to similar suits. Failed May 2nd, 36-33. (54 votes needed for passage.)

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Connelly,

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REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Papan, N. Waters.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

SENATE

TAX DEDUCTION

SB 1260 (Robbins). Allows a tax credit for buyers of new motor vehicles manufactured or assembled and sold in California. The credit would exempt the new car price from a 1 percent sales tax increase that may take effect next year. Supporters say the credit would stimulate the state's economy. Opponents don't agree that such a break is justified. Passed May 5th, 22-14.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Carpenter, Dills, Garamendi, B. Greene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Presley, Robbins, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Davis, Marks, Nielsen.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Boatwright, Deddeh, Foran, L. Greene, Keene, Montoya, Petris.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Doolittle, Ellis, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

EQUAL RIGHTS

AJR 1 (Bane). Resolution requests Congress to submit another equal rights amendment for women to the states for ratification. Supporters argue that ERA fell only three states short of ratification before and should be given a second chance. ERA opponents, aside from philosophical objections, contend that the measure was before the states for 10 years and was granted one extension of time by Congress. Passed April 21st to Congress, 29-5.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Dills, Foran, Garamendi, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Craven, Johnson (Ind.), Marks, Nielsen.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Doolittle, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Speraw.

PRISON INMATES

SB 50 (Presley). Authorizes early release for some state prisoners to relieve overcrowding. Defeated previously, the bill was changed to give the governor more authority over releases. Opponents argue that inmate overcrowding can be handled by the use of temporary buildings and other facilities. Passed April 21st, 21-11.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Carpenter, Dills, Foran, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Davis, Johnson (Ind.), Marks.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Garamendi, Mello, Robbins, Stiern, Vuich.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Doolittle, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

COMMITTEE VOTES

SALES TAX

AB 47, (Floyd). Author wanted to impose sales tax on magazines, saying it was unfair to exempt *Playboy* while taxing books such as the Bible. Opponents argue that due to the frequency of publication, magazines would be subject to a greater and disproportionate amount of sales tax. Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee defeated April 11th 5-2, less than a committee majority.

AYES: D. Brown (R), Frazee (R), Jones (R), McClintock (R), Nolan (R).

NOES: Hannigan (D), Seastrand (R).

PRIVATE CLUBS

AB 184 (Moore). Prohibits tax deductions for expenses in private clubs which discriminate on the basis of sex, race, religion or national origin. Supporters say the state should not subsidize discrimination through tax benefits. Opponents believe that such clubs have a right to operate. Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee defeated May 2nd, 7-5, less than a committee majority.

AYES: Condit (D), Connelly (D), Hannigan (D), Hayden (D), Klehs (D), Molina (D), Moore (D).

NOES: D. Brown (R), Frazee (R), Jones (R), Nolan (R), Seastrand (R).

BINDING ARBITRATION

SB 778 (Dills). Requires peace officers and firefighters and local government agencies to submit labor disputes to compulsory binding arbitration. Police say binding arbitration is a fair way to resolve grievances and will prevent strikes. Local governments maintain that it removes local control of budgets and allows a third party, a mediator, to make decisions that elected representatives should make. Senate Finance Committee defeated May 2nd, 4-9.

AYES: Alquist (D), Dills (D), Garamendi (D), B. Greene (D).

NOES: Beverly (R), Boatwright (D), Foran (D), Maddy (R), Marks (R), Petris (D), Presley (D), Seymour (R), Stiern (D).

COASTAL COMMISSION

SB 397 (Richardson). Abolishes the California Coastal Commission which regulates development in the state's coastal regions. The author says the commission has exceeded its authority to regulate coastal lands and has deprived property owners of their rights. Opponents argue that the commission is preserving coastal areas. Senate Natural Resources and Wildlife Committee defeated April 12th, 2-5,

AYES: Richardson (R), Seymour (R).

NOES: Hart (D), Marks (R), McCorquodale (D), Mello (D), Presley (D).

COASTAL DEVELOPMENT

SB 172 (Richardson). Requires the Coastal Commission to pay property owners' costs for complying with commission regulations for coastal developments. Opponents contend that development costs should be borne by developers. Senate Natural Resources and Wildlife Committee defeated April 12th, 3-5.

AYES: Nielsen (R), Richardson (R), Seymour (R).

NOES: Hart (D), Marks (R), McCorquodale (D), Mello (D), Presley (D).

HORSERACING

SB 196 (Ayala). Authorizes additional weeks of harness racing at the Los Angeles County fairgrounds in Pomona, and removes authorization for 15 weeks of harness racing annually in Northern California. Supporters (who provided a lavish meal for lawmakers beforehand) state there is a need for additional racing revenues in Southern California. Opponents say the bill benefits a single interest group. Senate Governmental Organization Committee defeated April 19th, 3-5.

AYES: Campbell (R), Keene (D), Robbins (D).

NOES: Alquist (D), Beverly (R), Carpenter (D), Dills (D), Foran (D).

DELTA LEVEES

AB 1325 (Bradley). Prohibits using state funds to repair Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta levees until the Legislature approves facilities to transfer water across the delta. The bill is supposed to pressure delta interests into supporting a transfer facility for moving water to Southern California. Delta interests argue that if certain levees break and cannot be repaired, no water would be available to Southern California. Assembly Water, Parks and Wildlife Committee defeated April 18th, 3-8.

AYES: Allen (R), Kelley (R), Peace (D).

NOES: Areias (D), Campbell (D), Costa (D), Filante (R), Herger (R), Isenberg (D), Katz (D), N. Waters (D).

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

After Burton

A few days after Phil Burton's death, a little scene was played out in the Speaker's Lobby off the House floor — a scene that sheds light on early maneuvers in the California delegation to reapportion the vast power the San Franciscan wielded during his 19-year congressional career. Henry Waxman of Los Angeles, bidding for a big slice of Burton's influence, spotted Leon Panetta of Monterey and called over to him: "When you have a minute, I'd like to talk to you." Panetta, pretending to be indignant that Waxman would move so quickly, smiled and volleyed back: "Already?"

SINCE POLITICS, LIKE NATURE, abhors a vacuum, it didn't take long for new claimants to reach for the dominance Burton exercised over the delegation. So far, however, there's been no clear victor in the succession scramble. For one thing, all sides acknowledge that no single member will be able to fill Burton's shoes. His political adeptness, tactical brilliance and sheer physical strength in bending others to his will simply can't be duplicated. New power players are ready to step in but, at most, each will be able to claim only a chunk of Burton's turf. It's a feudal scene with lots of earls, dukes and counts — but no single crowned head. Also, it's a bit premature to speculate about new winners and losers in the post-Burton era because there's really very little to fight about at this point. With the congressional session well under way, the battle for coveted committee assignments is over. Reapportionment, for the time being, is on the back-burner. While there's been some preliminary jockeying and elbowing, any major power struggle may have to wait until the 1984 presidential and congressional campaigns move to center stage. In the meantime, there's a kind of cordial lull, with members politely and cautiously poking around for new openings and opportunities. As George Miller of Martinez puts it: "Phil wore a big pair of shoes. Now, everybody has had to grow up, and that ain't bad."

Still, some players are more ambitious than others and the early sparring has provided a few clues about the shape of the battle ahead and some of the key contenders. Waxman moved quickly to assert leadership over the liberal wing of the delegation. A long-time Burton ally, he played a key role in Burton's reapportionment maneuvers that gave Democrats lopsided majority control of the delegation. Burton's successful gerrymander created House seats for two Waxman lieutenants, Howard Berman and Mel Levine. After showing considerable muscle in Los Angeles and statewide Democratic politics, the Waxman-Berman group now is looking for new frontiers to conquer on Capitol Hill.

However, any notion that the Waxman-Berman team will pick up all the marbles is highly illusory. There are too many other California Democrats with different agendas and power alliances in the House, starting with Tony Coelho of Merced, who has emerged as a countervailing force to Waxman-Berman. Coelho is more representative of the moderate wing. With close ties to agribusiness, he has shown that he can match the vaunted fund-raising talents of the Waxman group. In addition, as chairman of the House Democratic Campaign Committee, Coelho is positioned in the top rungs of the leadership. This means that he often can tempt colleagues in the delegation with rewards that Waxman can't deliver. In recent years, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Majority Leader Jim Wright looked upon Burton as a potential threat because he lost the leadership post to Wright by only a single vote in 1976. Some of this suspicion has been transferred to Waxman, although he's working hard to improve relations with the leadership. Still, for now, if a California Democrat wants a favor from O'Neill or Wright, the broker to see is Coelho.

The first Waxman-Coelho power test after Burton's death ended in a draw. The sparring occurred over Burton's vacancy on the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, which controls assignments to legislative committees and advises the leadership on policy issues. Waxman sent out signals that he might be interested. Coelho argued that the post has been rotated every two years between Northern and Southern California and, during this Congress, should continue to be filled by a northerner. His initial choice was Miller. That option, however, fell through when Miller bowed out, saying he didn't want to seem piggish so soon after becoming a new member of the Budget Committee and chairman of a new select committee on children and families. Finally, the issue was resolved with the unanimous selection of Delegation Chairman Don Edwards of San Jose to fill Burton's slot on Steering and Policy. Waxman didn't exactly walk away empty-handed. He was named chairman of a task force on reapportionment, a power arena in which Burton excelled.

EVEN BEFORE BURTON'S DEATH, there were clear signs that he increasingly would have to share power with a new breed of younger, more assertive lawmakers. Now, this fragmentation process has been greatly accelerated. The division of power isn't just between Coelho and Waxman. Others also can be expected to seek expanded roles in the delegation, including Vic Fazio of West Sacramento, Norm Mineta of San Jose, Miller and Panetta. As chairman, Edwards is satisfied that personal ambitions are taking a backseat to overall delegation unity. He points to the delegation's strong endorsement of Sala Burton, Phil's widow, in the upcoming special San Francisco election to fill his House seat. The delegation's action, which also included financial support, helped dissuade other Democrats from jumping into the race. As Phil's long-time political partner and a savvy operator in her own right, Sala Burton quickly could become a key figure as the delegation seeks to sort out the pieces he left behind.

Berman, the other half of the Waxman organization, agrees with Edwards that the delegation has developed good cooperation and cohesion. But he also feels its real muscle remains to be tested. One of those tests may come fairly soon as Los Angeles and Houston battle it out for big chunks of federal money for their mass-transit systems. Even with Burton, California lost many such inter-sectional fights in recent years. Whether the delegation can do better with new leadership remains to be seen.

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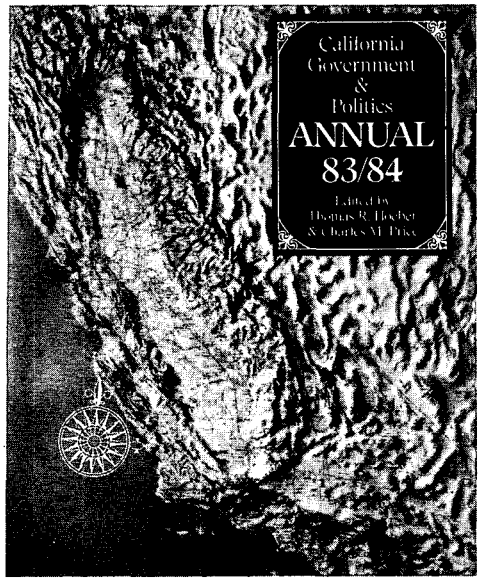

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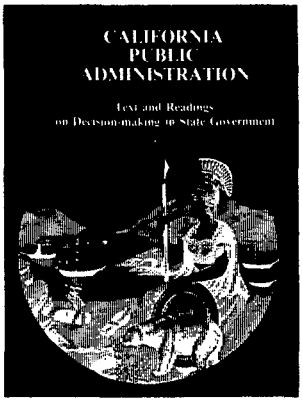

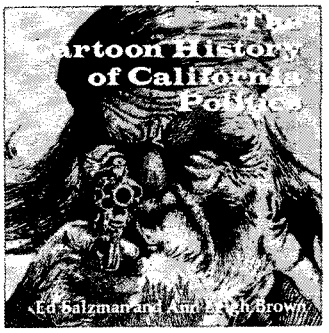

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— U.S. Senator Roscoe Conklin (1881)

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